

# AMERICA

## A-CATHOLIC-REVIEW-OF-THE-WEEK

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### Are Catholics Citizens?

**H**ITHERTO we had not considered Governor Lehman, of New York, an executive of narrow and illiberal views. We had always thought him warmly interested in every measure calculated to promote the welfare of all the children in the State. But we are forced to revise an estimate which once seemed fully justified.

The legislature of New York, at its recent session, enacted a law to permit all school children to use the buses maintained in certain public-school districts. The bill carried no appropriation, and was passed in both Houses by unanimous vote. The Governor, however, vetoed the bill after the legislature had adjourned, and appended the following message:

The bill is a radical departure from the public policy of the State. The provisions of the education law have heretofore applied only to children attending the public schools and relate only to the administration of the public-school system. This bill now for the first time would require the public-school system to provide facilities for private-school pupils. In other words, public moneys are to be used for the benefit of pupils attending private schools. Irrespective of whether or not this bill violates the strict language of Section 4 of Article IX of the Constitution, the Act clearly contravenes a definite policy which the State has always followed and which it should follow in the future.

This message reflects no great credit on the Governor's understanding of the State Constitution. It reflects even less on his views of public policy.

The section introduced by the Governor with an evasive "whether or not" is in no sense contravened by the bill which the legislature unanimously adopted. With sufficient illiberality this section provides that neither the property, the money nor the credit of the State, or of any subdivision thereof, shall be used for *any school or institution of learning* wholly or in part under the control

of any religious denomination. To hint that this section forbids the State to use its money or its credit for the benefit of a child of school age, irrespective of the school which he attends, is to fail to distinguish between a child and an institution. As a matter of fact, the State, or its subdivisions, daily uses money and credit for health, recreation, and other agencies in which all children participate. What Governor Lehman's interpretation of the polity and Constitution of the State of New York would mean were it extended to all State activities, is monstrous. Carried to its logical conclusion, no child of school age could benefit by any protection provided through the money or credit of the State, unless he attended the public school.

The Governor's veto message thus shares the fundamental philosophy of the infamous Oregon school law rejected as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. Incidentally, the Governor's assumption that the bill unanimously adopted by the legislature "would require the public-school system to provide facilities for private-school pupils" is nothing less than ridiculous. It merely permitted children in private schools to make use of facilities paid for by public funds, to which the parents of these children had contributed.

As a matter of law, the bill rejected by the Governor is in complete harmony with the State and Federal Constitutions. A similar section in the Constitution of the State of Louisiana was upheld on the ground that the beneficiary of the State's free textbook law was not any school which the child might attend, but the child himself and his parents. This contention was upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States in an opinion written by Chief Justice Hughes.

The implications of the Lehman veto are tremendous. They are intolerable in this free government, dedicated to

the principle that all citizens are equal before the law. If Governor Lehman's policy is recognized, Catholics and all who use their natural and legal right to choose the school for their child must prepare for further penalties. Catholics pay their share for the support of the public schools, including the school buses, and also relieve the State of a burden of millions of dollars which the State would be obliged to provide, if Catholics did not maintain their own schools. For the relief which they afford the State, Governor Lehman would impose a penalty by closing the school buses to their children. The particular instance under discussion is, perhaps, trifling in itself. But the principle on which the Governor proposes to act involves the fundamentals of government. Are Catholics citizens? If they are not, it may be proper to deprive them of certain privileges, and even of certain rights. But if they are citizens, they must share equally whatever right or privilege is possessed and exercised by any other citizen.

Legally, the Catholic child may call upon the State to pay for his training in a public school, and he may use any facility provided by it. On what principle does Governor Lehman rule that one of these facilities, the school bus, must be denied him? Does he harbor a suspicion that since Catholics are not in a plenary sense citizens, the State may and should adopt "a definite policy" to deprive them of rights freely enjoyed by the public?

Are Catholics citizens, Governor Lehman?

### The Railroad Pension Ruling

WHEN the Supreme Court hands down a decision by a vote of five to four, the layman, and even the lawyer, will offer comment with caution. At any rate, he will refrain from dogmatic presentation of his views, whatever they may be. If the learned Justices, freed as they are by their position from ambitious schemes, can honestly differ in their opinions, it is certain that we have a *casus perplexus* not easily solved, and a proposition on which men may honestly and intelligently reach opposing conclusions.

The law here under review sought to provide a plan for the payment of pensions by the railroads to retired employes. The Federal Court in the District of Columbia held that Congress might order such pensions, but only in favor of employes once actually engaged in the operations of inter-State commerce, and then under narrower conditions than those allowed by the Act. The Supreme Court took no notice of this decision, but decided that the law was not properly an act in regulation of inter-State commerce, but an act "really and essentially related solely to the social welfare of the worker," and as such, "outside the orbit of Congressional power." In a vigorous dissenting opinion, the Chief Justice regretted that the majority did not rest simply on a condemnation of particular faults of the law under review, but went on to deny that Congress had any power "to pass any compulsory pension Act for railroad employes." The four dissenting Justices stated that they were "not persuaded" that Congress in passing this Act, had "transcended the

limit of the authority which the Constitution confers."

We do not share the opinion of the alarmists who believe that this decision notably weakens the Recovery Act. We do not think that it puts a Federal pension system beyond the bounds of possibility, provided that the system is to be applied to industries actually engaged in inter-State commerce. Nor does it necessarily block any Federal pension scheme since, fortunately or unfortunately, according to one's school of thought, the authority of Congress to vote appropriations for purposes which it deems at least remotely within the purposes of the Constitution, has few bounds, and those are faint. What this decision does most unmistakably is to serve warning on Congress that legislation enacted in a loose slipshod fashion will not be sustained by the Supreme Court. A properly drawn pension act might, conceivably, have been affirmed. The last Congress worked like an engine without a governor, and in the pension bill, its haste produced nothing but waste.

### Hitlerism

THE heads of the Government in Germany appear to have taken a resolution to leave nothing untried that may outrage the feelings of the religious-minded inhabitants of that country. Not content with a determined drive against the Jewish people, Hitler and his cohorts have alienated large numbers of Lutherans and other Protestants, while their war against Catholic groups has never ceased. Perhaps the most crude and stupid manifestation of the Government's contempt for lawful Catholic activity in Germany was given by its treatment of a group of 2,000 young Germans on their return from an Easter pilgrimage to the Holy Father. According to a report in the *Osservatore Romano* the pilgrims were treated as political suspects, deprived of the mementoes which they had brought from Rome, and interned for a time in a concentration camp.

The truth of this report was later denied in an official communication. In spite of this evasive statement, the Holy Father issued a protest on May 6 in an address to another German pilgrimage. "We hope that on your return to your country," said the Pontiff, "you will be treated better than those pious and splendid young men, who faithful and devoted to the Church and to their country, not long ago came to see Us, their spiritual father." The Pontiff then spoke plainly of the many attacks upon revealed religion which the Government has permitted its officials to make. "They wish, in the name of a so-called positive Christianity to de-Christianize Germany, and to lead the country back to barbaric paganism. Nothing is left undone to disturb the Christian and Catholic life."

It is possible that some of the denunciations of Catholic doctrine and practices which have been publicly made in Germany proceed from extremists whom the Government does not wish to offend, and hence is obliged to tolerate. But this judgment cannot be made of the determined campaign which has been carried on in Germany without hindrance from the Government, and often by its



highest officials, for more than a year. The memory of Germany's rulers is short. Could it reach back to the '70's, they would recall a similar campaign against the Catholic Church planned and supported by a German chieftain whom they may equal in ruthlessness, but to whom they must yield in force and in intellectual acumen. Bismarck lived to see his attacks turned back, and long enough to realize, as many another ambitious politician has realized, that it is folly, not statesmanship, to make war on the Catholic Church.

The sympathy of all right-minded men goes out to that great body of German citizens who at present lie prostrate under the iron heel of Hitlerism. We have no doubt that the Catholics of Germany, long noted for their love of the Church and for unimpeachable patriotism, will in the end vindicate their rights against Hitler as their fathers did against Bismarck. Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad, and it has long been evident that the attacks of the Hitler government on religion can rightly be characterized as insane. No government which tolerates such outrageous attacks upon whole groups of unoffending citizens can long maintain itself on a firm basis.

## Lynching in the North

**A** FORMER Senator from New Hampshire, George H. Moses, found much amusement in the filibuster in the Senate which ended with the defeat of the Wagner-Costigan bill against lynching. "The Republicans used to bring in this bill," said Mr. Moses, "and it was up to the Democrats to stop it. But now the Democrats are backing it, and they don't know what to do with it."

But, as it turned out, the Democrats did know what to do with it. First, the Southern members began a filibuster, and held up the work of the Senate for five days. Then they invoked the archaic rules of the Senate, and defeated the bill with the aid of nineteen votes from the North. An examination of the record shows that had these nineteen Senators voted against a parliamentary device, a motion to adjourn, the opposition to the bill could have been beaten back. At sixteen minutes past three on May 1, the motion was carried by a vote of forty-eight to thirty-two. At thirty minutes past three that same day, the Senate met again, but the Wagner-Costigan bill was at the foot of the list, with no chance for reconsideration at this session. The trick was neat, and it succeeded.

At some less-crowded session the bill can be debated on its merits. As yet, it has not received that consideration. A filibuster is not a rational examination of a bill, but a determination that, whatever its merits, it must be defeated, or the Senate will not be allowed to function. Probably Senator Borah's address, attacking the constitutionality of the measure, had no effect on the result, except that, indirectly, it aided the filibuster, and thus forced a vote. Of course, the vote did not turn on the merits of the bill. The point at issue was simply whether or not the Senate should be allowed to function. Probably many of the Senators from the North who agreed to adjourn

would have supported the bill had the Senate been allowed to consider it, but honestly felt that adjournment was the lesser evil. To others, the vote furnished a convenient evasion.

However, the bill is not dead, and the efforts of Senators Wagner and Costigan have not been lost. The threat of Federal legislation will spur local officials to deal less gently hereafter with lynchers. Should this threat lose its effect, Federal legislation must be enacted. As we view it, the Wagner-Costigan bill does not propose to set aside State authority, but merely to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment when the State fails to give any man the protection guaranteed by the Constitution.

As Senator Wagner admitted in the Senate, the bill is not perfect, but it cannot be improved unless Congress agrees to consider it. Sooner or later the measure must be considered, freely debated, and judged on its merits. We have no bias in favor of this particular bill, but it seems to be authorized by the Constitution, and it is the only measure that even professes to attack a scandalous evil.

Lynching is a crime against God and the State, as well as against the individual. Not all its victims are Negroes, nor are all lynchers natives of the South. We do not believe that Senator Smith, of South Carolina, speaks for the better elements in the South, and we think that the Southern Democrats made a mistake which in cooler moments they will regret, in opposing the Wagner-Costigan bill as an attack upon the South. The South is not the only culprit, and should not be put in the dock by those who represent her. Illinois, Wisconsin, the Dakotas, Ohio, and California must bear their share of the blame for this national disgrace. If the Federal Constitution, fairly interpreted, authorizes Congress to take a part in the suppression of the crime of lynching, that rightful power should be used.

## Bread or Beer?

**A** RECENT meeting of the Anti-Saloon League of New York bore a striking resemblance to a lodge of sorrow. They sat them on the ground and weeping spoke of kings long dead, and of the glamour of victories that had faded. "I have two kiddies," said a reverend gentleman, sent into the desert of New York by the Methodist Board of Prohibition, Temperance, and Public Morals. One of these "kiddies" (hateful term!) is called Betty, and upon Betty the duty devolved one day to go to the grocery store to purchase a loaf of rye bread. Although the store was but two blocks away, the journey took Betty, according to her story, twenty-five minutes, and she is an agile child at that. "But, daddy," she protested, when this tale was received with a perceptible degree of cynicism, "they were so busy selling beer, I couldn't get waited on."

It would appear from this relation that Betty returned without the bread. But further examination discloses the fact that the missionary was not talking about conditions in New York. His reference was to the Capital of this

nation which, it appears, harbors 1,790 habitats of the demon rum.

We are loath to conclude that the clergyman wished to draw the moral that there should be more than 1,790 grog shops in Washington (incidentally, there are) so that honest folk could buy their rye bread more expeditiously. In fact, we do not know the moral of his message. Probably he simply means that we have not as yet solved the problem of the proper regulation of the traffic in alcoholic beverages, and in that statement we concur. But it seems to us that we are infinitely better off than we were when this land was ruled by the frenzies of Prohibition.

### Note and Comment

#### Students And Peace

ONE definite effect, whether or not intended, was reached by the recent student protest "strike" against "imperialist war." It aroused many active minds among students in Catholic colleges as to the delusions of Communism and the need of a constructive Catholic program for peace. The *Hoya*, campus weekly of Georgetown University, has been publishing a series of articles upon the peace program, and appeals for nation-wide cooperation in its task. On April 24 it gathered its articles together and published them in convenient pamphlet form. The exposé of what the students' strike really meant is followed by many constructive suggestions, among which is a "method of study" suggested to college students. "Communism can be destroyed," says the *Hoya*, "by destroying the need for Communism." Besides demanding that Christ be given a place in the colleges, the writers ask that "we acquaint ourselves with our Catholic leaders who have long been raising their voices and to whom we have been turning a deaf ear," and stress the need of reading Catholic periodicals. International-relations circles, sodalities, civics and citizenship societies in Catholic colleges are urged to get together and "do the work through their brothers and sisters enrolled in non-Catholic institutions. Certainly there will always be members of these clubs of ours who have friends and acquaintances in the Catholic groups in secular institutions. To them information can be relayed as to what we are doing." The writers likewise mark the success that has attended such concerted effort on the part of Catholics, even in the field of legislation on moral matters. Study-clubs must break down ignorance and indifference. We hope that the *Hoya's* call will be echoed through the country.

#### The Future of The Dionnes

SOME weeks ago this Review commented with approval upon Mrs. Dionne's reminder to the world that her five latest children belong to her and their father. From Montreal now comes another point of view, with further light on the situation in which those five famous girls

are unwittingly entangled. The *Devoir*, the well-known Catholic daily, tells us that the family now has a manager, one Kervin, who has recently made some revelations which "are not of a very reassuring character for the future of the little girls, if ever they fall into the absolute possession of their parents." It seems that the Dionne family made a contract with this man according to which he would receive one-fifth of the money coming in, an uncle another fifth, the parents two-fifths, and the babies the remaining fifth as an endowment for their future. An idea of what sums are involved may be seen from the offer of a film company of \$100,000 for the exclusive syndication of photographs of the "quins." There are many other thousands coming in from other sources. Fortunately the Ontario Government voided this unfair contract, to the disgust of the manager, the uncle, and the father. The *Devoir* is not impressed by the judgment of the parents as shown by what it calls their unfortunate "circus tour" in the United States, which, it says, alienated the sympathy of people of good sense. It points out that now of the three curators two are Catholics and the third is Dr. Dafoe, of whose loyalty there is no question. It ends with the statement that "if the children had been left to their father alone from their birth they would soon have been sleeping in the corner of some forgotten cemetery, a nine days' wonder, and their parents would have fallen back into the obscurity from which it was not their intelligence which drew them."

#### The Masses Of Lourdes

ENTIRELY unique in the history of the Church, according to Msgr. Gerlier, Bishop of Tarbes and Lourdes, was the uninterrupted celebration of the Holy Sacrifice for three days and three nights at the famous grotto, at the close of the solemn jubilee of the Redemption. An interesting bit of information was communicated by Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris, in a pastoral letter. In point of fact, said the Cardinal, the initiative for this celebration came "from a good priest in the diocese of Westminster," England; and he further narrated:

God frequently entrusts his dearest desires, as the history of the Church proves, to humble, pious, and meditative souls. Said the humble priest: "For exceptional needs we need exceptional helps. In the present state of things, Catholics ought to offer an extraordinary prayer to God, for from Him alone can come salvation. And since the Holy Mass is the prayer of prayers, let us celebrate Masses which will follow one another for three days without interruption."

The priest, according to Cardinal Verdier, confided his project to the late Cardinal Bourne. After a few minutes of reflection and doubtless of prayer, Cardinal Bourne gave his sanction to the idea, saying that there was only one place in the world where it could be accomplished, and that was Lourdes. "But for that," added Cardinal Bourne, "you must have the permission of the Sovereign Pontiff. Go to Paris, ask the Cardinal Archbishop if he will agree to join his request to mine." One of the last joys of Cardinal Bourne in this world was that his request



was granted. Unusual in its origin as in its nature, such a celebration must have brought down innumerable blessings from Him who was besought for the sake of peace.

#### The Growing Church.

IF you like figures, here are some nice, fresh Romanist statistics to ponder over. They are taken from the Catholic Directory for 1935, just published by P. J. Kenedy and Sons. One person in every six you meet on the street is a Catholic, for the total Catholic population this year is tabulated at 20,500,000. Knock off from this total about 125,000 Alaskan and Hawaiian Catholics, and you have the number of Papists living in the forty-eight States. The new Directory shows a rise in numbers that is both steady and regular. In the past twenty years we have gained considerably over 4,000,000. In the past ten years, 2,000,000. Last year we increased 200,500. Hence this last figure seems slightly above the average annual addition to the ranks of the Faithful in the U. S. More than one-quarter of this addition came last year not from infant, but from adult, baptisms, for there were about 64,000 converts. Including our four Cardinals and our eighteen Archbishops, we have a total of 125 in the Hierarchy. They rule over a clergy whose numbers run to more than 30,000. If you figure the things out in round numbers, this means that there is one priest for every 650 Catholics (but he makes only two converts a year). New York, Chicago, Brooklyn, and Boston represent the largest Catholic populations. And if you add together the jurisdictions of Cardinal Hayes and Bishop Molloy, you will get more than 2,300,000 Catholics—a figure which indicates that roughly ten per cent of the nation's Faithful live within forty-five minutes from Broadway.

#### Chicago Shows Up New York

TWO Chicago geniuses, Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur, have pooled their talents with Noel Coward in a motion-picture satire of the literary racket in New York. It is called "The Scoundrel," and the thousands who saw it in the Music Hall in New York, mostly innocent people who never heard of the Algonquin Hotel, were profoundly puzzled by it. But Hecht and MacArthur make no secret of their wild and bitter laughter at the artificial posings, the superficial wisecracks, the half-baked poetry, and the self-satisfied, wise-seeming ignorance of Sixty-five West Forty-fourth Street. They have even deluded their accomplice Coward, no mean wisecracker himself, into pouring contempt on his own character as well as the crew who consider themselves the arbiters of the elegances of modern literature. But the grossest jest of all was to have cast the high priest of Algonquin himself, Alexander Woolcott, in his own character in person. We can only think that he never saw the script or the whole film until it was presented publicly. It is an exquisite revenge of Chicago upon New York. This sophisticated, evil-living publisher, im-

personated by Noel Coward, hating himself and his admirers and victims, dies in an airplane accident, and God will not let him rest until he comes back and finds at least one who will shed tears for him. How God has pity on him is the denouement and is not fair to tell. But the superfine photography and gorgeous acting will probably be wasted on a land which knows little of how its literary standards are created.

#### Parade Of Events

THE week's news fell into a picturesque mosaic. . . . A professor in New York urged the erection of a new civilization. A committee was formed to get it started. . . . A magistrate in Maryland received a summons to appear before himself. When he appeared he fined himself. . . . In Boston an argument between father and mother grew so heated, the tiny daughter turned in a fire alarm. Fire fighters dashed to the scene with hoses, axes, ladders, and put out the argument. . . . Willingness to make arduous sacrifices for their king was shown by Burma tribesmen in India. In a touching gesture, they promised not to beat their wives during the entire jubilee. . . . Foes of "back-fence chatter and bridge-table innuendoes" organized in Canada the world's first anti-gossip league, in an effort to make small talk still smaller. . . . Sugar and dish throwing, a physician discovered, are related. Hyper-insulinism—too little sugar in the blood—induces in a wife a peculiar urge to hurl crockery at her spouse. A sugar-increasing diet was given a hyper-insulinistic wife. As the diet progressed her husband, a trained observer, noticed that less and less chinaware was being broken by his head. To his delight a day arrived when only one meat platter fluttered onto his skull. Optimism was slowly rising among dish-dodging husbands, it was said. . . . Czar Joe Stalin declared: "They forget we Bolsheviki are a people of a special make-up." Don't you believe it, Joe, they don't forget. . . . Lovers of understatement as a literary device contemplate forming the American Understatement Association. An example of understatement would be: As Ambassador to Mexico, Josephus Daniels is a dangerous misfit.

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## Can Russia Guarantee Peace?

JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

IT is only fair to the French who have signed the recent "alliance" with Soviet Russia, to give them every benefit of the doubt, and to accredit them with the best of motives. Nothing but a very genuine alarm could possibly have lined up so many warring political elements in France in favor of a measure so distasteful to the natural instincts of the French people. It seems incredible that fervent patriots like Louis Marin and others of the extreme Right could look with any kind of favor on a scheme, no matter how desperate the need, which would associate France with a Power that is actively sowing, according to the complaints of these same patriots, the seeds of revolution in France and dissent even in the French army itself. One of the ironies of the extreme nationalist spirit rampant in our times is that it drives nations as well as persons to make terms with extreme internationalism. In the long run ultra-conservatism joins hands with radicalism. Our super-capitalists look complacently upon Russia and Mexico. When fear is added to nationalist sentiment, like politics, it makes strange bedfellows. And fear is present to conservative France under the following guise: Russia, 900,000 men; German army, 600,000 men; Italian army, 300,000 men; French army, 200,000 men, as compared with 817,000 in July, 1914.

The purpose of the alliance is to obtain the help of the 900,000 against the threat of the 600,000. Independently of its present political bearing, the treaty marks an important step in international relations, since it shows, in ingenious fashion, how the weaker features of the League of Nations Covenant may be supplemented by voluntary agreements on the part of individual League members. France and Russia determine, in specific fashion, just what action they will "reserve to themselves" when, according to Section 7 of Article XV of the Covenant, the League Council fails to reach a unanimous report: thus closing the famous "escape" clause. The treaty is not directed against any particular Power, and is open to Germany to enter, if she so wishes.

All this ingenuity, however, has not served to allay considerable mistrust in France. *Avant d'aller à Moscou il faut boucler le communisme* ("Before going to Moscow Communism must be dealt with"), remarked the *Echo de Paris*. P. J. Philip, correspondent for the *New York Times*, notes the anomalies of the situation, and observes:

It is, perhaps, one of the oddities of a situation that has many, that France, which refuses absolutely and finally to put the least faith in the word of Germany and in her intentions, should seek to build a new system on the word of Soviet Russia and the good faith of Italy, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania.

There are plenty of Frenchmen who find this ridiculous and are protesting vigorously. . . . They argue with force that peace and above all, security, do not lie along the road of a camouflaged alliance with Russia and the Little Entente, wherever else it may lie.

Of the ancestors of the present Frenchmen, Caesar says somewhere in his Commentaries: *Consilia ineunt, quorum e vestigiis paenitere necesse est*: "They have adopted a policy every feature of which some day they will be obliged to regret." One would not wish to quote Caesar at M. Laval. France's Foreign Minister only did what he felt himself driven to do in view of a most serious alarm. He kept the world waiting day by day as he contested doggedly and successfully against provisions that would have put France and her European associates completely at the mercy of the Russian giant. But even with M. Laval's precautions, Russia has a decisive role.

The Franco-Russian agreement brings into startling relief another question which concerns us here in the United States. How does Russia's presence in the League affect the question of international cooperation?

Many thoughtful people who have been opposed to the United States' entry into the League, on the ground of its political commitments and its alleged entanglement with the European status quo, have been willing to acknowledge frankly its element of moral idealism. By what manner we may wish to characterize this idealism, whether it be thought mere sentimental optimism or shallow humanitarianism, it cannot be denied that the League as conceived by those men who were particularly instrumental in its foundation, President Wilson, General Smuts, Sir Eric Drummond, Lord Cecil, looked upon the League—and still do, where they are living—as a sort of rendezvous for the scattered moral forces of humanity. The United States has cooperated with the League on this basis, with its humanitarian and scientific aspects in particular.

Many persons who would not hear of United States entry into the League were cordial to the notion of American participation in the World Court, precisely on this supposedly moral basis. They were willing to overlook the actual dependence of the World Court upon the League—which appoints and pays its judges—for the sake of what they conceived to be the great benefit of international conciliation and judicial settlement.

At present advocates of the League and of the World Court alike find themselves faced by a new, unprecedented factor. Russia's membership in the League is not a mere nominal conception. From the first day of her entry, Soviet Russia has come into the former "nest of bandits" as a child into its father's house. Russia has to her credit an under-secretary of the League, representation on the International Labor Organization, membership on important committees, and so on. There is only lacking a Soviet judge upon the bench of the World Court, to decide, in terms of Marxian dialectic, the intricacies of international laws. And with the entrance of Russia into the League, comes the exit of any pretense of that moral idealism that gave the League its birth.



The sharpness of the division between the old assumption and the new was made plain by Salvador de Madariaga, the representative of Spain, on the occasion of the League's recent censure of Germany. M. de Madariaga is certainly the least intransigent of men. He has been blamed, perhaps justly, in the past for his readiness to comply with every change in regime. But his refusal, on this occasion, to "serve as a clerk for a powerful group of European nations" (*El Debate*, of Madrid) was due to his conviction that under the new alignment the League had forfeited what in his mind was its principal weapon: moral force, the principal weapon of any effective type of international cooperation.

It may be replied that the moral sense to which Dr. de Madariaga made appeal is mere pretense, belied by the selfish acts of capitalist nations. Let us grant that this be so. But the "pretense"—if it be such—at least affords a respectful hearing for the moral argument when the same is presented. Soviet philosophy, which forms a "monolithic" whole whether in the ethical, the economic, or the political field, attributes only one possible motive to any nation, that of pure selfishness, the desire to exploit the weak and to plan immediate attack upon the Soviet Union. As an example of the meaninglessness for the Soviet mind of any language that is not couched in terms of utter calculation, one can take the Soviet understanding of the words spoken by the Supreme Pontiff in his recent allocution on peace. Surely no words could have been more frank, more totally free from any partisan or interested implications than those of this great spiritual leader who, even were he guided by merely worldly prudence, would have no reason for inclining to one side rather than the other. Yet in its issue of April 10, 1935, the Moscow *Pravda*, official organ of the Third International, carries the following:

The Pope of Rome Pius XI recently shed tears at a secret consistory before the College of Cardinals. It is a terrible thing, when the Pope weeps. [Sentence omitted as unprintable.]

The Pope spoke of the "fearful economic, political, and, principally, moral crisis which is afflicting humanity." He warned of "heavy clouds gathering upon the horizon." Before his spiritual eyes there appeared a sort of new deluge, and he compared himself with the Apostles, who were tossed upon the waters. . . . And in his panic Pope Pius XI exclaimed to the whole world: "Lord save us, for we perish!" . . .

In the destruction of the Soviet Union the Pope sees the salvation of all the world that is dear to him. He has only one prayer: "Scatter, O Lord, the nations who seek war!" This prayer to the Lord concerning an aggressor has nothing in common with the measures that have been taken [by M. Litvinov] against an aggressor in the interests of world peace. They are an invitation to prepare war against the Soviet country.

There are a number of arguments from expediency concerning the inclusion of the Soviet system in the League. One would have to philosophize upon the League to philosophize upon the validity of these arguments. They are in the nature of fighting fire with fire; which, in certain limited emergencies, as in a prairie fire, is effective. But they fail completely to answer the question: how can any promise of good faith, how can any guarantee for peace save that afforded by the merest shifting conjunc-

tion of the moment, be found in a system of government which at such a crisis of world affairs, at a time when religion itself is insulted in the very country of which the Soviets stand most in dread, can find nothing in the Pope's sublime and loving words but a poisonous threat of war? The unshaken Soviet attitude of utter, professed denial of any possible decent motive on the part even of non-belligerents and purely moral forces, rules out the moral issue from any agency with which it is associated. This simple circumstance has brought up a new and so far insuperable difficulty for the United States in its already thorny quest for international cooperation.

## Evils of the Company-Store System

FLOYD ANDERSON

ONE beneficial result of the New Deal has been its focusing of attention on social and economic diseases which harmfully affect minorities often inarticulate and unorganized. They have been unable to protest loudly enough to reach the ear of the public. As a result, they are economically injured, often to their moral detriment.

A recent example of this is the investigation of the company-store system. In connection with Article IX, Section 4, of the Code of Fair Competition for the Retail Trade, the National Recovery Administration made a study and reported under the title of "The Economic and Social Implications of the Company Store and Scrip System." Under the direction of a committee of three, C. B. Fowler, H. P. Dutton, and Daniel Bloomfield, the report was confined to company stores in the mining, quarrying, lumbering, railroad, and manufacturing industries. The greatest attention was devoted to those in the coal, textile, steel, and lumber industries.

This is, of course, not the first investigation of company stores. There have been many by agencies of the Federal Government. One, in 1901, referred to the high profits which these company stores earned, the compulsion upon employes to patronize them, the exclusion of independent merchants, and the effect that unionization and growth of population had upon the decay of the company-store system.

The present investigation was conducted in the ten Eastern States in which company stores are most numerous and the use of scrip as a form of wage payment most common. These are Alabama, Arkansas, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Most of the company stores are operated in three ways: as a department of the parent company, as a subsidiary corporation, or owned by persons not connected with the parent company but under contract with it. Under the latter arrangement, the parent company usually receives five to ten per cent of sales made on scrip or credit.

The claim has been made that these stores are necessary because they serve isolated communities. But a questionnaire indicated that seventy-two per cent of these

stores had competitors within a mile, and ninety-five per cent within five miles.

Among other questions, the investigators endeavored to determine the answers to these three:

1. Does the use of scrip extend the employer's control over the laborer to a degree not common when a more conventional wage system is used?

2. Are the prices charged by the company store higher than those charged by neighboring independent stores?

3. How does the company store affect the interest of labor and of independent merchants?

They did find some cases of compulsion or intimidation, although these were exceptional, in Arkansas, South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia. They found instances where the men were given to understand that they should trade with the employer who gave them jobs. A more pointed method was revealed at a Senate sub-committee investigation in May, 1932, on conditions in the coal field of Harlan and Bell Counties, Kentucky. A miner from Pineville, Ky., reported: "They said, 'If you trade at Piggly Wiggly's, you can get your job at Piggly Wiggly's.' That is what the superintendent got up at the drift mouth and made a speech to."

A less direct but more effective way of controlling the employe is by withholding wages. Sometimes the entire amount earned is withheld until the next pay period, supposedly in order to compile the payroll. The investigators found that sometimes laborers, beginning work on the first of a month, would go four and sometimes five weeks before receiving any money. However, railroad companies, with many employes scattered over a greater territory, have no such delay in compiling payrolls. Sometimes a number of days are required for this purpose, but usually less than a week. In the company-store cases, the investigators found in a large majority of the cases that the payroll was calculated every day, and the laborer could draw in scrip up to that amount.

With this long delay before he may secure the money he has earned, the employe must apply for scrip or credit on these wages. The company will then deduct this from his pay later. This scrip or credit must be spent at the company store, and often begins a vicious circle that keeps the employe always under the employer's control. How complete this control is was shown by the answers to a questionnaire. Sixty-eight per cent of the company stores answering transacted only up to ten per cent of their sales in cash: eleven per cent of them from ten to fifteen per cent in cash; and only 2.5 per cent had cash sales greater than fifty per cent of their volume.

In a plant in South Carolina (presumably textile), laborers claimed that there were three workmen who had not received any cash in the past fifteen years. In West Virginia, one company was found which "had not even gone through the formalities of having a cash pay day in the last two years."

How do the prices of the company store compare with those of independent stores? A detailed study was made, comparing commissary prices with those of an independent store near at hand and rendering comparable services, such as credit, delivery, etc.

The commissary store had many factors in its favor. Often it is the member of a commissary chain, while the independent stores used in the study were not, with consequent higher prices. Wage costs for company stores were 7.6 per cent of net sales, but 8.7 per cent for independent stores. Other operating expenses were 3.7 per cent of net sales for company stores, and 4.4 per cent for independent stores. Thus the total operating costs for company stores were 11.3 per cent of net sales, as compared to 13.1 per cent for the independent stores. The advantage was clearly on the side of the company stores; yet their prices were from two to ten per cent higher than those of the independent stores.

Here is a table of the differences in several districts, in all of which the company-store prices were higher:

|                                       |      |                 |
|---------------------------------------|------|-----------------|
| Alabama (Birmingham District).....    | 5.9  | per cent higher |
| Eastern Kentucky .....                | 7.7  | " " "           |
| South Carolina: No. 1.....            | 2.3  | " " "           |
| No. 2.....                            | 3.6  | " " "           |
| Eastern Tennessee .....               | 10.4 | " " "           |
| Western Virginia .....                | 2.1  | " " "           |
| West Virginia: Fairmont District..... | 4.5  | " " "           |
| Kanawha and New River.....            | 4.6  | " " "           |
| Mingo District.....                   | 7.1  | " " "           |

These higher prices may have led to the names which distinguish the company or commissary stores in several communities, such as "gyp-me-stores," "pluck-me-stores," "gyp-joints," and "robbersaries."

These designations may also have arisen from the fact that many company stores do not give the customer any record of his purchases. For instance, in the questionnaire previously referred to, 328 stores, or thirty-four per cent of the 961 answering, said that at no time did they supply the customer with a record of his purchases. In the bituminous group, the percentage was 28, in lumber, 53, and in cotton-mill stores, 32.

Practically always the scrip given to the laborer represents work that he has done—only a relatively small amount of it is currently issued for unearned wages. Yet the workman cannot always get the full value of it. If he wants to turn the scrip into cash, he may be able to do so by discounting it, but by taking a loss ranging from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. If he wants to spend it elsewhere than in the company store, he must again take a discount—that is, if the company store will accept it from the independent store, which is sometimes done, at a discount of from five to twenty per cent.

But this is not the only disadvantage accruing to the workman through the use of scrip. Through its payroll records, and its books in the company store, the employer can determine just how much money each employe earns and how much he spends in the company store. And this is especially true since so much of the company store's business is done on a scrip or a credit basis. This system of credit, too, affords the employer a minute supervision over the economic affairs of his workmen.

Another use of scrip, credit, and the prices established in the company store, would be the invalidating of wage provisions and agreements in NRA codes. Let me quote



from a footnote in this report: "One dealer explained that if nothing was done to limit the activities of the company store, a number of the lumber companies had decided they would re-establish commissaries in order to offset the increase in wages which had resulted by the minimum-wage laws."

In the digest for Volume VII of "A Report on Capital and Labor Employed in the Mining Industry," by the United States Industrial Commission in 1901, it is stated:

Mr. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, says that it might be very advantageous for employers to run stores to supply goods to their workmen if these stores were properly conducted so that they might furnish goods at cost plus the mere expense of handling. . . . But the company store is a dangerous

thing unless the employer is an angel. The tendency is to stock such stores with cheap goods and to maintain high prices. Often the owners of these stores, by recouping their losses in production through profits on goods, can compete unfairly against other producers. The worst fault in the system is the unwritten threat to discharge the employe who fails to trade at the company store.

In the past thirty-odd years great changes have taken place in the economic world. But many employers still are not angels, and capital still, to quote Pius XI, "so employs the working or wage-earning classes as to divert business and economic activity entirely to its own arbitrary will and advantage without any regard to the human dignity of the workers, the social character of economic life, social justice, and the common good."

## Father Coughlin and Social Justice

WILFRID PARSONS, S. J.

IT was once said with much truth about Theodore Roosevelt that you were either violently for him or just as violently against him. The same is true of all positive people. It is certainly true of Father Coughlin. He has probably caused more arguments than any man alive today, except perhaps Hitler. My private belief is that this is because nine out of ten people do not know really what he stands for. Many of his adherents, in my experience, vigorously uphold him because they think of him merely as the great modern champion of social justice, and reflect very little about his specific proposals. Many of his opponents merely call him names, refusing even to think about those proposals. Both views are wrong.

It is useless to call him names, just as it may be dangerous to give him a blind approbation. He has a perfect right as a citizen to speak for concrete proposals in economic and social life, even though he is a priest, though I myself should hesitate to say that he may be justified or at least prudent in allying himself with any popular movement to bring them to fruition by direct action on Congress. On the other hand, the challenge which has been made to me by more than one reader must be taken up: let us stop taking flings at him (I am not conscious of having done this) and instead let us examine his proposals with calmness and justice: if he is wrong, let us say it; if right, let us admit it. That is the spirit in which I approach an examination of his economic and social ideas.

Let me say at once that this examination is no easy task. Nowhere, to my knowledge, has he formulated his philosophy, except to say that it is that of Pope Pius XI. On the other hand, he is best known for his proposed monetary reforms, which take up by far the largest part of his addresses. But on November 11 he gave his followers the famous Sixteen Points; on December 2 he formulated seven principles for his Union for Social Justice to follow; and on February 10 he delivered a short interpretation of each of the Points. I will adopt these as guides, and will use those addresses principally which

followed the publication of the Points, the real platform of his Union. Naturally, I will pay particular attention to "Quadragesimo Anno" in commenting on them.

It is useless for me to repeat what everyone knows, that Father Coughlin has done a most extraordinary job in making the country social minded. Many things contributed to this: his great gift of popular oratory, his unrivaled use of the radio, the circumstances in which he came to the public scene, and most of all, his uncanny ability to make himself the articulate voice for the manifold and deep discontents of the age. He has crystallized all these under the slogan advanced by Pope Pius XI, social justice.

As was to be expected in a popular orator of his type, we will find it most easy to uncover his positive ideas in the denunciations he has launched against the current economic order and its leaders, whom he flays by name. He condemns the system because it has produced poverty in the midst of plenty, has brought about an undue concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, has induced a domination of industry by the banks, has destroyed rather than distributed private property. Readers of Pope Pius XI will recognize and admit all this. His diagnosis of this state of affairs, however, differs from that of the Pope, who puts the cause of it in the industrial order, while Father Coughlin blames it almost entirely on the monetary or currency situation that he sees prevailing.

On the positive side, I find the best short summary of his philosophy in a speech on December 2 last:

Social justice seeks and demands a just distribution of the nation's wealth and a just distribution of the profits for the laborer as well as for the industrialist. Capitalism and Communism both destroy private ownership. Social justice seeks to multiply it.

We find, therefore, that he accepts private property, the profit system, and the wage system. In this he definitely remains within the capitalist system, which, however, he often denounces as if it were irremediable. He is against old-age pensions and social insurance generally, because they tend to preserve and bolster up the capitalis-

tic system rather than fundamentally reform it, as he often demands. In consequence of his monetary theories, he has produced a banking bill, the Nye-Sweeney bill, which he says is not a "cure-all" for all of nature's ills, nor a "hypodermic palliative," but of which he does affirm that "it is the answer to low wages, to unprofitable agricultural pursuits, to unbearable and unpayable debts, to unjust plutocratic profits, to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, and to the periodic stagnation of business" (February 10); in other words, the solution for practically all the deep disorders of our economic system.

In view of this sweeping claim, it might seem to be futile to delay any longer on the other specific aims of social justice as he presents them, and better to go on immediately to examine his monetary theories. He does, however, often propose other partial solutions which form an integral part of his system, some of them startling. I will sum them up under these heads: labor relations, organization of industry, and the part to be played by government.

The second of the Sixteen Points says this:

I believe that every citizen willing to work and capable of working shall receive a just and living annual wage which will enable him to maintain and educate his family according to the standards of American decency.

In this demand for a living, annual, family wage, he is in accord with all Catholic thinkers. It is the ideal of all social theorists. The problem is how to secure it. In his exegesis of the Sixteen Points on February 3, Father Coughlin looks for it only in our relinquishing "the false concept of money which characterized the age of scarcity."

Labor, however, has the right to organize for its rights (Point 10). But strikes should be outlawed, and compulsory arbitration should take their place. "Strikes and lockouts are absolutely unnecessary. For in the case of disagreement between employer and employee it is the business of the public authority to intervene and settle such disputes which cannot be settled amicably by the parties involved." Only "in the case of the government's neglecting its duty to settle such industrial disputes" may a strike take place. This duty of the executive he places in the Department of Labor, which "shall not only protect labor but shall counsel and guide it in its negotiations with capital" (December 2). It is, of course, this outlawing of strikes, putting labor under the tutelage of government, which would quickly mean control, and imposing compulsory government arbitration, which have brought upon him in labor and radical circles the reproach of being a Fascist. It must be admitted that the proposals are typical of Fascism everywhere. I cannot find that they are advocated by "Quadragesimo Anno," which seeks a solution for labor disputes in the mutual agreement of autonomous vocational groups, and restricts the action of government to setting up this machinery, at most, and does not counsel actual intervention in particular cases.

As for industry itself, he first of all would do away with free competition, maintaining the principle "that there can be no lasting prosperity if free competition exists in any industry" (December 2). This advocacy of the

abolition of the competitive system is probably the most radical of all his proposals. It goes far beyond "Quadragesimo Anno," which finds that free competition is "within certain limits just and productive of good results," though it "cannot be the ruling principle of the economic world." In the same paragraph, however, Father Coughlin later condemns the owner of an industry who "will so operate his factory as to destroy free competition and thereby use his private property to the detriment of society." I cannot say how this can be reconciled with the principle he has just enunciated.

The question of vocational groups is the main constructive offering of "Quadragesimo Anno." These groups are to be twofold, of employers and employees, which will take deliberations "in their respective assemblies" and will then proceed to dissolve differences by mutual agreement for the common good. They have been aptly described as a modern adaptation of the ancient guild system. Father Coughlin took them up on December 2: "It is the aim of the National Union for Social Justice to assist in the re-establishment of vocational groups." He immediately restricts these groups, however, to the "laboring class," which should "combine in units independent, if they so choose, of the factory where they work or of the industry in which they are employed." This, it seems to me, would leave the industrial strife where it was before, and is far from the democratic and peaceful organization of labor and capital which Pope Pius urged so strongly. It is still couched, as so many of Father Coughlin's statements are, in the terms of the old industrial warfare, and not in those of the newer corporative cooperation.

This is probably why Father Coughlin is so ready to give such a large part to government in the economic sphere. He repudiates Socialism, of course, and holds to the right of private property. With all Catholic thinkers, also, he believes in controlling this right for the public good (Point 5). His speeches are full of how he would control it and this brings us to the interference of government. This can be sought under the heads of government ownership, control, and intervention.

In "Quadragesimo Anno" it is stated: "It is rightly contended that certain forms of property must be reserved to the state, since they carry with them an opportunity of domination too great to be left to private individuals without injury to the community at large." The Pope does not go into the question of what these forms are, leaving it to all regions to decide that for themselves. In Point 3, Father Coughlin thus paraphrases, and slightly alters, the Pope's words: "I believe in nationalizing those public necessities which by their very nature are too important to be held in the control of private individuals." That on November 11 he considered this nationalizing to be government ownership is clear from the following Point 4: "I believe in private ownership of *all other* property."

What these public necessities are he stated in the form which was distributed as late as April 1: "By these I mean banking, credit, and currency; power, light, oil, and natural gas; and our God-given natural resources." Though these words are omitted, I am told, in later forms,



we can take it that they contain his original thought, and are not retracted by the omission. In spite of the clear inference from Point 4, however, on February 3, 1935, he explicitly stated: "I do not subscribe to the theory that we should nationalize public utilities." What he means is that Niagara, the St. Lawrence, the Tennessee Valley, and Coulee Dam should be held and operated by the Government, and that side by side with existing public utilities elsewhere the Government should erect power plants in competition with them. "The public work of electrifying America at government cost could and should be undertaken." This procedure would, of course, quickly nullify and practically confiscate the ownership of the present power companies. Outright purchase of them would seem to be the more equitable course, if government is to be given the power to enter industry.

In those cases where government ownership would not run, he would introduce a licensing system of all other industry which is apparently something like the licensing provision which NIRA contained and which the Administration did not dare to apply. "It is the government's business to so control individualism that, if necessary, factories shall be licensed and their output shall be limited" (December 2). Limitation of output, deliberate creation of scarcity, is, on the other hand, one of the severest criticisms he levels against NRA and AAA.

Other interventions of government which he demands are: limitation of profits as a duty of the government; supervision of industry to see that employees get an honest livelihood; and the securing of "the production of all those industrial goods . . . which the wealth of the nation, the natural resources of the land, and the technical ability of our scientists are able to produce until all honest human needs within the nation are amply supplied." "This principle," he admits, "is contrary to the theory of capitalism." And here he introduces the famous formula which has never been adequately explained. It is commonly said that the theory of capitalism is production for profit; that of Socialism, production for use. Father Coughlin combines the two and says: "Social justice advocates the production for use at a profit for the national welfare as well as for the owner." In one sense, this formula is susceptible of the widest applications; or it may mean merely that he calls for a just operation of industry. But there are many passing sentences in his speeches in which he seems to call for a very much stricter governmental control of industry than was even envisaged in NRA, and which there is no space here to recall.

Such, then, are the main proposals of Father Coughlin apart from his banking and monetary proposals. Since these, however, as I have quoted him, are the heart of his program, I will reserve them for consideration in two further articles.

Meanwhile, I record a widespread opinion. We will be saved by no mechanical, automatic plan, but by a change of mind and soul. It seems a shame that Father Coughlin, with his power over the popular mind, has not restricted himself to the reformation of this mind, but has risked all on doubtful economic legislation.

## Sociology

### A Defense of "Share Our Wealth"

PAUL L. BLAKELY, S.J.

OF making books there is no end, neither does there seem to be an end of arguing about plans for an equitable redistribution of wealth in this country. This endless controversy reflects an all but unanimous opinion that the economic conditions which have prevailed in the United States for many years are seriously wrong. Were we likewise unanimous in our choice of means to end or reform these conditions, we should soon live in a new era. But we are not unanimous, and, despite our good intentions, our debates seem to produce more heat than light.

In the *Catholic Charities Review* for April, the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John A. Ryan, of the Catholic University, discourses in his usual luminous fashion on "Quack Remedies for the Depression Malady." The first quack remedy which he discusses is the Townsend delirium; the second is the scheme—I can hardly style it a plan—excogitated by Senator Long. Of this, Msgr. Ryan writes:

Not less disturbing is the degree of popularity obtained by Senator Long's "share-the-wealth" program. He would have the Government take from the very rich men of the country all but two or three or four million dollars of their respective fortunes. The confiscated total he would then distribute by some form of hokus pokus among the propertyless of the country, so that every man would be possessed of goods to the value of at least \$5,000. The misuse of statistics, the calm disregard of the principles of mathematics, and the contempt for economic realities which are involved in this proposal, should have completely discredited it months ago in the minds of all persons who are capable of even a moderate exercise of their thinking faculties.

Yet, admits Msgr. Ryan, the plan seems to be gaining day by day. The letters which I have received following my article, "The Immorality of 'Share Our Wealth,'" published in this Review on March 30, would remove all doubts, did I entertain any, of the plan's popularity. From one of these communications I cite the following paragraph which seems to contain the gist of my critic's objections.

Morally, says Father Blakely, "Share Our Wealth" is wrong, because it takes property without due cause, but Father Blakely seems to admit that we already have cause enough. Senator Long's plan does not extend the rights of the State to the detriment of the individual, as Father Blakely says, but merely limits these rights (not natural, but acquired) of the few, to extend them to the many. That this is in accord with the natural law, St. Thomas shows when he writes, ". . . things in which some persons superabound ought by natural right to go to the sustenance of the poor" (2-2, q. 66, a. 7).

I am not sure of the meaning which my correspondent affixes to the word *rights*. Property, surely, is held by a natural right. If he means that the control of credit exercised by capitalists who have sluiced wealth into a few pools, is a kind of right, an "acquired" right, I must protest. That is in no sense a right, but an abuse of power.

Passing from this point, I admit the citation from St. Thomas, and add that I have been teaching that doctrine

these twenty years. But I am unable to see in it an approbation of the "Share-Our-Wealth" scheme. The duty of sharing one's superfluous goods with the needy does not rest upon justice—except in certain extreme cases—but upon charity, and nowhere, so far as I am aware, does St. Thomas teach that men should be forced by legal enactment, such as Senator Long contemplates, to discharge this duty. Furthermore, this duty implicitly obliges us to take care that the goods thus disposed of will actually be distributed to the poor.

In my article of March 30, I gave the reasons for my belief that the Long plan does not and cannot guarantee this distribution. Moreover, to quote Msgr. Ryan again, it is based upon misuse of statistics, a calm disregard for the principles of mathematics, and contempt for economic realities. Hence the seizure of property, as contemplated by Senator Long, would not relieve the poor, but would be an unwarranted invasion on property rights, and, consequently, immoral. "Due cause" does not mean simply that poverty, and oppression caused by poverty, exist. It also implies that the means used to remove this poverty must be fitted to that end.

I concluded this part of my exposition by stating that, to justify redistribution, not only must the evil caused by the pooling of wealth be certain, but also that "other means of destroying the evil are not available, and that this wealth must be redistributed in a manner which will . . . inure to the general welfare." As Msgr. Ryan observes, in his "Distributive Justice," it can easily happen that the dangers confronting the legal restrictions of fortunes (and much more, their practical confiscation) are so real as to make the proposition "socially inexpedient." He goes on:

Once the community had habituated itself to a direct limitation of any sort, the temptation to lower it in the interest of better distribution and simpler living would become exceedingly powerful. Eventually, the right of property might take such an attenuated form in the public mind as to discourage labor and initiative, and thus seriously endanger human welfare. In the second place, the manifold evasions to which the measure would lend itself, would make it of doubtful efficacy (p. 261).

But the State cannot positively oblige the individual to make use of a means of "doubtful efficacy." Msgr. Ryan admits, of course, that neither of these objections to limitations upon wealth is *absolutely* conclusive. Taken together, however, "they are sufficiently weighty to dictate that such a proposal should not be entertained so long as other and less dangerous methods are available to meet the problems of excessive fortunes."

But are other methods available? I think they are, but none of them will make every man a king, none of them will create a world in which every man will be provided by the Federal Government with a home, a radio, an automobile, scholarships at college for his children, and an income of \$2,500 per year. To my mind, that change would not be advisable, even were it possible.

My correspondent will agree that any and all methods of social regeneration must rest, if they are to be effective, upon the spiritual regeneration of our people. The rich must be taught, as Leo XIII writes, to be mindful that

their wealth has been given them so that they can act as the stewards of the poor. The poor must try to carry their cross with patience, in imitation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and see in their state a passport into the Kingdom of Heaven. Hence it is the duty of every Catholic, particularly of every Catholic who has means or position, to adhere strictly to the laws of justice and charity in all his dealings with his neighbor, and to teach these laws not by word alone, but by the more powerful sermon of his example. When this ideal has been universally accepted, and we have at least begun to move toward its realization, we shall need but few laws. Without this ideal, laws can be of little avail. Either they will be founded on false principles, and hence will not remove the evils of which the workers, the greater part of the human race, justly complain, or they will be evaded.

Yet in attacking the manifold evils created and sustained by capitalists who have regard neither for God nor man, I am far from thinking that we can dispense with the rightful authority of the secular arm. But this does not mean that every legislative proposal which promises social reform will be useful. It may be even harmful. We may not know, we do not now know, in precise detail, what legislative program will destroy the frightful evils rampant in the economic, financial, and industrial world. But we can know that certain schemes are not adapted to that end. As St. Thomas teaches, quoting Isidore, "A law ought to be possible, both according to nature and according to the customs of the country" (I-II, Q. xcvi, a. 2). Otherwise, comments Cathrein, it would not attain its end, and would be mere imprudence.

To all who pray for the coming of the Kingdom of God, these reflections are the veriest truisms. I quite agree with my correspondent that "America must choose either Communism, Fascism, bloodshed and unrest, on the extreme left, a modern feudalism ruled by the present financial monsters, on the extreme right, or she must follow a middle course." But, for the reasons given here, and in my article of March 30, I am unable to find that middle course in Senator Long's "Share Our Wealth." In my judgment, it would lead the way to the extreme left which my correspondent and I both abhor.

#### SPOILS

What will it profit a man  
If, serpent-shrewd, he say: "Desires are laws;  
This will I take; with *that* shall I be adorned";  
And accomplish the bloodless bauble of applause  
From clown and courtesan?

What will it profit a man  
Though he step from silken Canton in one stride  
To golden Akkra, and claim the ships between—  
If his inner stature dwindle, atrophied,  
And end where it began?

What will it profit a man  
Though he call the disc of the moon his petty groat,  
If never a loving hound shall lap his hand;  
And with blood in his grasp and conscience at his throat  
He trail the spectral caravan?  
What will it profit a man?

LEGARDE S. DOUGHTY.



### With Scrip and Staff

THE controversy concerning the real distinction between essence and existence always has been a touchy matter with certain minds. Dearest friends have been sundered by it. I myself have beheld saintly men flushed with emotion as they proved their indisputable assertions. Now to my distress the question is started all over again, by a gentleman from the Middle West, whose letterhead states that he is a maker of men's clothes, and the subject (who would imagine it?) is Father Jude. After a brief characterization of laymen who call priests by their last names, sans title, he continues:

In the April 13 issue of AMERICA "With Scrip and Staff" column, the writer of it refers to a Father Jude so repeatedly throughout the article as Jude this and Jude that, as to occasion the thought in the reader's mind that "Father" Jude must be a mythical Father, or of some other faith, else does it not seem that the very disrespectful references to the Father indicate rather a low degree of faith or respect for the Priesthood on the part of the writer, and entirely out of place in a periodical of AMERICA's ideals and standing?

I had not the heart to pass on to Father Jude the accusation of being "mythical." It would bring up that nasty question as to whether Jude's (pardon, Father Jude's) essence, which is determined and predicable, is necessarily concerned with his existence, or whether one can dispense with the other without creating a very unpleasant metaphysical scandal. Zealous readers will doubtless say that this denotes cowardice on the Pilgrim's part, and that I should put Father Jude at once on the spot. I realize this laxity on my part; but say frankly that were I to do it, and accuse Jude of mythicity or non-existence, he would invite me no more to partake of his cheese soufflé.

As for the omitted title, I humbly bow to correction. But I will hasten to inform the inquirer whom I have quoted, that even most punctilious members of the clergy do occasionally, in their unofficial moments, address one another without the more formal appellations, and that this practice saves them from too much worry over metaphysics. Father Jude applies a like principle in the Pilgrim's case, and were I to preserve an unfailingly correct demeanor towards him, I should meet the same treatment as if I were to label him with mythicity.

WHILE I crave indulgence for the problem I meet with in the case of Father Jude, I admire this correspondent for the honesty and reverence prompting him to be on the watch for any symptoms of anti-clericalism. The Abbé Jacques Leclercq, the sure-minded editor of *La Cité Chrétienne*, of Belgium, notes in a recent article the misuse of the term *clerical* by the anti-clericals in European countries. In Germany the former Center party was frequently designated by this title, as was the former Christian Social party in Austria. Catholic journalists in this country have occasionally unwittingly echoed the appellation. The title, however, is unjustified.

Neither the Center party in Germany, nor the present Catholic party in Belgium, formerly the Conservative party, was formed as a "confessional" (denominational) party. Says Leclercq:

Historically, the Catholic party was formed, not for the purpose of putting the State under the domination of the Church, which would be a "clerical" purpose, but in order to defend the Church against the hostile acts of the Liberal party. The formation of the Catholic party was therefore the consequence of the declaration of war against the Church. The Liberals were responsible for the offensive. The Catholics just defended themselves, and the responsibility for the formation of a Catholic party rests with those who have made such a party necessary. . . .

The Holy See . . . does not condemn the formation of political parties for the defense of the Church when circumstances appear to demand it.

Though justified, such a state of things has its drawbacks. It brings about, says Leclercq, a lamentable confusion between religion and politics.

For a great number of Belgians the word *Catholicism* designates a political attitude rather than a religious attitude. It is not unusual when you ask an ordinary person if he is a Catholic that he answers: "Oh, you know I don't take part in politics." . . . If such is the state of mind in Catholic circles, one can understand that in non-religious circles Catholicism should be generally identified with a political attitude, and that the Church, associated with the Catholic party, should be accused of being simply an instrument for gaining power.

That there is not more of this sentiment, and that anti-clericalism is actually on the decrease in Belgium, even in Socialist circles, Abbé Leclercq ascribes to the Papal program of Catholic Action, which, as we know, definitely insists that Catholic organizations, as such, keep free from politics. This does not impede the Popes, the bishops, and the clergy from intervening in matters that concern, in a moral sense, the social order. Moral interests may be bound up with civil institutions. "The clergy intervene in order to safeguard the moral exigencies of the social good or the social exigencies of the moral good."

Some, of course, will raise the war cry of "clericalism" at these perfectly legitimate interventions on behalf of social justice and charity. That is to be expected, but can be met with on the solid ground of Christianity's concern for the social order. The real danger of the revival of the anti-clerical issue arises from the identification of Catholicism with purely secular affairs: bitter political articles and attacks, or, in Leclercq's words: "the Catholic ticket placed on financial affairs." Our country so far has been spared the painful spectacle of warring nationalistic political parties, such as harass Catholicism in Czechoslovakia. In those ancient Catholic realms Msgr. Sramek's followers contend with the adherents of Msgr. Hlinka, and peace is less in sight than ever. Pray God that we may be spared that in the United States. Enough that we still have with us the commercialized beggars for pious causes, and a few other such excrescences. From the neglect of good clergymen to apply the remedy to social abuses, where their calling justifies such action, as well as from their mixing in matters that are in no wise of their calling, rather than from any chance informalities, anti-clericalism may arise.

THE PILGRIM.

## Spring Review of Current Books

### The Breathless Years

*ROAD TO WAR: AMERICA, 1914-1917.* By Walter Millis. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.00. Published May 1.

THE findings of the Nye Committee on Munitions, the various legislative proposals for safeguarding American neutrality and limiting profits in time of war, have made Mr. Millis' latest work most timely. It is the story of those frenzied years, 1914 to 1917, during which our historic relations with Europe were gradually but completely transformed and the path which our nation has been following ever since was all but inevitably projected.

This is not a massive piece of scientific history; admittedly it is an effort in interpretation rather than research. But the author has assembled all or almost all the pertinent data which have as yet been revealed on the reasons for our entrance into the European conflict. The merits of that conflict are outside the scope of the book; yet since our passionate acceptance of the Entente case influenced so largely the ultimate decision in 1917, considerable criticism is quite properly devoted to that case.

Mr. Millis has shown a skilful hand in assembling his material. The result might be described as a weird counterpoint in which propaganda, war supplies, the blockade, the U-boats, foreign loans, domestic politics, the prize court, all sound their strident notes, swiftly moving into the inevitable climax. Insensibly at first, and then with ever-increasing speed, the American people were being drawn into the struggle on the Entente side, like a log floating toward a cataract, checked momentarily from time to time, but always breaking free again under the impact of some new and swifter current. Our leaders saw their opportunities to rescue us only when they were irretrievably lost.

In his earlier work *The Martial Spirit*, a study of our war with Spain, Mr. Millis proved himself a master of satire, with a fine sense of dramatic detail and an expert journalistic style. The same qualities are now revealed again. Yet here the satiric element is tinged rather with indignation than fun poking: the issues are too great, the catastrophe too imminent, merriment here would have been singularly out of place. One should add that over-statement is satire's closest ally; hence we may doubt that Colonel House was really so child-like, or Sir Edward Grey so astute, or Ambassador Page so befuddled by Anglophilia as the author would seem to indicate. For sheer dramatic power, the narrative of the sinking of the Lusitania and of the debate in Congress on the declaration of war are worthy of special mention. In general, Mr. Millis has succeeded in making those breathless years live again, and his book deserves a wide circulation.

GERARD FRANCIS YATES.

### Forty Answers

*CAN WE ABOLISH WAR?* By Herman Bernstein. New York: Broadview Publishers. \$1.00. Published April 15.

MR. BERNSTEIN has collected forty formulas for peace. They range from radiant optimism to the pessimism of Dr. Inge: "I do not know how wars can be prevented. I wish I did." The reviewer garnered no simple formula for peace from this symposium. But he heartily endorses the statement of John W. Davis: "The world needs more than anything else increased economic freedom among the nations." Rigid economic nationalism begets war. Access to raw materials must be facilitated. Regionalism is the golden mean between fossilized Cobdenism and baleful economic nationalism. No secure basis for political peace can be obtained until international economic war be abated.

Senator Nye writes: "It would be unfair to say that munitions makers are wholly responsible for wars. But the danger of more wars can be greatly reduced by simply removing the element of

profit from preparedness, and the prospect of profit from war." The Senator deserves all our support in his struggle against the merchants of death. To the reviewer the path to peace seems largely, perhaps mainly, to lie in ending the abuses and greed in the economic sphere which lead to war. Catholic peace efforts are doomed to futility if confined solely to amplifying Papal majors. This work is laudable. But let us apply minors and reach conclusions as well.

A referendum on war, recently endorsed by Archbishop Curley, merits our support. Finally, a study of what led to 1898 and 1917 will help the cause of peace. So-called patriotic history is often a tissue of militaristic propaganda. The reviewer adds one suggestion: ruthless resistance to the bloody vaporings of the Jingo press. We should warn our people that these brewers of hatred are the enemies of the Prince of Peace.

LAURENCE K. PATTERSON.

### Origin of the Primates

*EARLY FORERUNNERS OF MAN.* By W. E. Le Gros Clark. Baltimore: William Wood and Company. \$5.00.

AT last students of the phylogenesis of the primates have a source book giving all the latest morphological discoveries. Eagerly they will turn the pages of this scholarly though technical work to learn that one more new synthesis of evolutionary data has been made and a new theory supported. Chapter after chapter of evidence—from skull, teeth, limbs, brain, reproductive organs—lure them on to the inevitable conclusion, "emergent evolution," as opposed to or complementary to the old mechanical theory of chance selective variations. Undoubtedly the author selects data well so as to justify his conclusions about the interrelationships of the primates, their alleged numerous divergent trends away from the supposed main evolutionary stem.

He is at liberty, too, to discriminate between structural resemblances which betoken a real and close affinity and those which are the expression of evolutionary parallelism or convergence, because he relies on Osborn's principle that "the same results always tend to appear independently in descendants of the same ancestry." And his insistence on the fact that anatomical differences are more important as negative evidence than resemblances are as positive gives him a wide range for speculation.

One is not sorry to see him correct the old "progressive" hypothesis because they were *a priori*, but one might suspect that he himself is advocating "Parallelism" for the same reason, namely so as to make it possible that the Old World and New World monkeys' brains might have been derived independently from a small brain of the type seen in the modern marmoset.

Nor is one prone to question his principle that any attempt to classify animals must take into consideration *all* anatomical characteristics in assessing affinities, not merely one organ or organ system. Evidently throughout the work he assumes that similarity proves genetic relationship. He is not original in this. But then he adds: "Dissimilarity helps to trace the path of evolutionary change."

Of course, we are deemed uneducated if we do not accept the fact of evolution, since "no alternative interpretation of the evidence has been offered which is in any way convincing." Bishop Barnes told us this ten years ago, only not in such polite terms. Of course, all the alternate explanations of the mode of evolution are very convincing even though they contradict one another. But let us observe that if the fact is so certain there ought to be some uniformity at least in explaining the mode, for is not the fact itself deduced from the hypothetical modes?

Candidly one feels that essays such as this really help along the cause of evolution but little, though they may readily mislead



many of the young and unsuspecting devotees of modern science.

On the last page the author asserts his preference for the theory of emergence inasmuch as it pushes the problem back into genetics and the germ plasm, laying only secondary stress on the influence of the environment. He apologizes feebly for appearing vitalistic, not at all for ignoring gigantic difficulties with gene mutation, or for his silence about the possible effect of functional aspects of life on the course of evolution, such as mind. Though he is no materialistic evolutionist, he is materially such, ardently seeking the spark of nascent human vitality in the infinite potentialities of the genes instead of in the infinite source of all Life.

VINCENT V. HERR.

### In the Days of the Merry Monarch

*THE ENGLAND OF CHARLES II.* By Arthur Bryant. Longmans, Green and Company. \$2.00.

"NO stronger example of the resilience and strength of faith in the hour of suffering is to be found than in their story," writes Mr. Bryant of the English priests; for in constant peril of death they labored when even the most common rights of justice were denied to Catholics. Of the laity he says that persecution only strengthened their constancy. However much Englishmen in general might disagree on religion, they "had two things in common: all loathed the Church of Rome and all believed implicitly that they alone were in the right."

In *The England of Charles II* Mr. Bryant travels the whole range of the interests and activities of the people of that day. He describes London with its contrasts of riches and poverty, of beauty and dirt, its gardens and alleys, its hundred spires and one bridge, its streets, houses, hawkers, and primitive sanitation. Then, as now, the smoke nuisance bothered Londoners. With regard to the influence of the city on the country at large he remarks that the "doings at Court made small difference to the domestic life of manor, farm, and cottage," and that "the comic literature of a small, sheltered society is an unreliable guide to the habits and thoughts of a nation."

Every phase of life is considered: dwellings, home life, religion, marriage, education, drink, food, clothes, recreation, occupations, wages, travel, transport, and government. In those days education was designed to make the mind "categorical and not wiggle-waggle"; "guests were expected to bring their own spoons," and there was "a distressing scarcity of forks."

A biography of Charles II published in 1930 and years of study of unpublished manuscripts qualify Mr. Bryant to write knowingly and authoritatively on the England of the Merry Monarch. His book is based on the Shakerley MSS., as well as the memoirs of Pepys and Evelyn and many other contemporary writings. An easy and sprightly style and a sense of humor produce a delightful account which, while instructive, is also entertaining. In short, this book is a happy blending of simplicity and scholarship.

CHARLES H. METZGER.

### An Integral Vision

*A PHILOSOPHY OF FORM.* By E. I. Watkin. Sheed and Ward. \$3.75. Published April 3.

THE *philosophia perennis* of Christianity has had two well springs: one, Aristotelianism, perfected by St. Thomas and championed by Maritain; the other, Platonism, baptized by Augustine, systematized by Bonaventure, lyricized by the medieval mystics, and adapted by the modern Franciscan school and, among others, by Peter Wust. One current is dominantly intellectual; the other stresses the will. One is objective and conceptual; the other subjective and intuitive. One seeks above all for truth and strives to enlighten the mind; the other thinks that truth is but a stepping stone to love and charity and strives to enkindle the heart. One is a way of thought; the other a way of life. Hence one directs its devotions to the Logos, who

is the Truth; the other, its prayers to the Holy Spirit, who is pre-eminently the Life. Mr. Watkin (his indebtedness to Wust is generously acknowledged) is definitely on the side of Plato and the mystics.

In his *Dialektik des Geistes* Wust once wrote: "The form will be glorified in the halls of science, will blaze forth in the temple of art and stand before God as a symbol in the sanctuary of religion." Of that prophecy this volume (an elaboration of the author's *Bow in the Clouds*) is the fulfilment. It has two main divisions. The first explains the meaning of form and the method of apprehending it—contemplation. Four species of contemplation are developed and applied in the second: esthetic, religious, axiological, which is necessary for determining moral values, and speculative, which is the instrument of science and metaphysics.

A persuasive but bold eclecticism marks these chapters. Contrary to a fundamental axiom of the Aristotelians, Watkin emancipates intellectual knowledge from the senses. Contrary to St. Thomas, he argues for the existence of a spiritual prime matter and denies absolute continuity in time or motion. With Plato he maintains that universal forms exist apart from the individual. With Père Picard and his widely discussed book he agrees to the letter: men have a direct intuition of God, which, though "too obscure to distinguish its object," is "a constant factor of human experience . . . widespread, inescapable, concrete." In fact the traditional proofs for the existence of God are naught but "expressions of direct intuitions of the contemplative intellect."

That the profound riches of the *philosophia perennis* are not exhausted by one school is evident from this stimulating, original, clearly written and sometimes even lyrical treatment given them by Watkin. There is no swearing in the words of a master. Independent and liberal, Watkin has recast the Aristotelian principles of act and potency, of matter and form. He has transferred Bergson's vitalism to a higher plane and has gathered thoughts even from Hegel. He has pleaded an able case for intuitive cognition. Unlike his tardy Aristotelian cousins he has articulated religious and esthetic experience, together with many social problems, into a metaphysical system. Consequently, although many of his views are at least debatable, it cannot be denied that he has developed, in keeping with his definition of metaphysics, "an integral vision of mental integrity."

STEWART E. DOLLARD.

### Scholasticism in Colonial Times

*EDUCATION OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF THE REPUBLIC.* By James J. Walsh, M.D., Ph.D. Fordham University Press. \$3.50. Published March 25.

ONE startling fact emerges from a perusal of our standard Catholic histories of philosophy, such as Turner, Stöckl, and De Wulf. They are adequate and detailed up to the Spanish Scholasticism of the sixteenth century. After that they allow themselves to be imposed upon by the assumption current in non-Catholic scholastic circles that the philosophy of the Schoolmen suffered a period of total eclipse until it was revived by the Encyclical "Aeterni Patris" of Pope Leo XIII. But now there is evidence of the fact that, although modern philosophy filtered even into Catholic seminaries to the detriment of Scholasticism, still the medieval philosophy lingered on in the most unlikely places.

Dr. Walsh offers abundant proof that Scholasticism, its ideas, and even its teaching technique in disputation and Latin terminology, held the field in American colonial colleges. Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Columbia, the University of Pennsylvania, and others printed thesis sheets in Latin all during the eighteenth century which contain authentic Scholastic doctrine. The *Theses Politicae* which were defended along with the *Theses Ethicae* throw light on the republican sentiment of the defenders and show why so much Scholastic doctrine appeared in the American

State papers. The ideas of Bellarmine, Suarez, and modern Scholastics in the American State papers were once explained as being due to Jefferson alone. It seems that Dr. Walsh's detailed evidence establishes another stream of influence for Scholastic ideas in Colonial and Revolutionary times.

The book opens up an entirely new field in the history of American education and in the history of Scholastic philosophy. The last hundred pages in the book are devoted to a short history of Scholasticism, to a consideration of the function of the disputation as a Scholastic procedure, and to an examination of certain vagaries in modern education. The elective system is properly punished. Still there is no reason to think that condemnation will change the minds of foolish parents and still more foolish children. If John wants esthetic swimming and tap dancing instead of Latin and solid geometry, no doubt John will get it. Even Catholic schools continue to temporize with modern education which they inwardly despise. In this last section of the book Dr. Walsh is converting us who are already converted. Things will not begin to look up educationally until they get somewhat worse.

ALFRED G. BRICKEL.

### Back to Synthesis

*EDUCATION AND BIOLOGY.* By J. A. Lauwerys. London: Sands and Company. 5/.

IS it too much to say that biology (suffering the fate of many another object of current curricular attention) is too often taught as a subject and not often enough as the truth? A re-inspection of objectives and fundamental ideas will be the salutary result for the biology teacher of the reading of this book; "salutary," because of the more important things which should never be taken for granted, these slip most easily into comfortable and uncurious grooves.

For the Catholic teacher, his implicit philosophy will find a pointing and clarifying influence here, and he will be stimulated to a more intense application of the treasure which is his.

Insistence on the necessity of a metaphysic as a matrix for biological ideas is a Catholic notion which is slowly creeping into other camps as biology progresses along the way of "synthesis" which has come to it later but as inevitably as to other sciences. In that which is valid in Holistic or Organizational theories, in the work of such as Whitehead, Bergson, or Haldane, Catholic teachers find support for concepts always theirs by virtue of their *philosophia perennis*.

An effect of this book should be a renewal of self-dedication to the all-important work of synthesis, made so difficult by specialization, the loss of contact between the Church and the intellectual (especially scientific) world as a whole, and by the formative period of the science. Catholics can best see to the accomplishment of this, as theirs is a hereditary culture without compare.

The book is divided into two parts. The second is concerned with the manner of teaching, beginning with the idea that every lesson should be a voyage of discovery led by the teacher. The content is discussed with interesting reference to the attraction of the science at varying ages of students, and finally there are concrete methods of worth. The first part is philosophical and handles four prominent biological subjects: vitalism, sex, evolution, and the biological outlook.

While never intending to convert the confirmed mechanist (a heroic task at best), the first discussion argues well, convicting the mechanist of implicit vitalist ideas. Sex is treated exhaustively, and the Church's attitude towards sex education is well represented. A sensible course is steered between the prigs who would start with flowers and tell all to any class, and others who would (like Dr. Clendening) leave it to the gutter as the best pedagogue.

The ideas on evolution are the ones familiar to the Catholic philosophy classroom, and the author's critique of Darwinism

as a scientific theory should be worth reading by the inmates thereof. The point is made, and well taken, too, that great clarity is needed in setting forth just what the Bible and the Church propose on this matter. The short note on the biological outlook betrays laudable balance.

It is a pity that the author did not make of this a larger and more complete work, as well in text as in bibliography; but, for all its size, we welcome it, and hope for more. And may he have many Catholic imitators! J. FRANKLIN EWING.

### The Thomistic Esthetic

*POETIC EXPERIENCE.* By Thomas Gilby, O.P. Sheed and Ward. \$1.00.

IN this latest *Essay in Order* the publishers add esthetic experience to the list of subjects which Dawson, Maritain, and others have been ordering in the light of Catholic philosophy. Father Gilby affirms that the problem of esthetics centers around our knowledge of the concrete. He believes that "the philosophy of St. Thomas, far from being opposed to poetry, allows for a real experience of things, which, by its closeness and wholeness, is above and not below the life of the reason."

He began by laying down five contrasts between poetic knowledge and ordinary rational knowledge. Esthetic activity appears to our consciousness as intensely individual, not general; it is concrete, not abstract; it is real, not conceptual; it is a relatively complete satisfaction in itself, an end rather than a means; it is not the calculated result of previous mental processes, but comes in a moment of unpremeditated inspiration.

Father Gilby then inquires whether knowledge of this vivid description fits in with St. Thomas' theory of cognition. He groups the teaching of the Angelic Doctor on this subject under three heads: "The influence of love on knowledge; the soul's immediate consciousness of itself; and the experience of Grace." The will's desire for reality stimulates the mind to grapple with and possess the concrete. The soul is aware of itself not through an idea but through its immediate presence to itself. In the rare and privileged cases in which God's presence in the soul through Grace is consciously experienced, the knowledge obtained is one of direct union. In a somewhat analogous fashion, reasons the author, may the poetic experience put us in touch with its object. It is supra-rational, quasi-intuitional. "The mind is obscurely but irresistibly made aware of the concrete real with which it is charged."

Many Scholastics will disagree with some of Father Gilby's conclusions. He seems extreme when he describes esthetic knowledge as "supra-rational," transcending ordinary conceptual knowledge in kind as well as in intensity. We can account sufficiently for the warmth and color clinging to poetic experience by the *splendor formae*, the form shining through the envelope of the concrete material, and grasped by the normal operations of intellect and sense acting in unison. Nor do the analogies from knowledge of the self and from mystical experience warrant our asserting a higher mode of mental unison for poetic perception; for self-consciousness is unique, and the experience of Grace is the rare exception and entirely supernatural, and can scarcely be invoked to explain natural workings of the soul.

Yet Father Gilby is far from slighting the reason, and discusses admirably the indirect rôle it plays in esthetic knowledge, guiding, controlling, censoring, disciplining. He has merited well of poetry and Scholasticism by showing, as he does conclusively, that poetry has its own niche within the edifice of Scholastic philosophy. He combines delicate psychological observation with a style that is luminous and flexible. Every friend of poetry will relish his closing tribute to poetic vision: "Really real knowledge is reserved for those moments when the mind seizes and possesses a substance in a moving and intimate experience. . . . Such knowledge is not for the instructors, the spectators, or for those who



'warm both hands before the fire of life'; but for those who strive and suffer, the players, the makers, the poets, the saints."

GERARD J. MURPHY.

### Department of State

*A HISTORY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS.* By L. M. Sears. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$3.50.

**I**N an age of intense nationalism a clear, fair-minded book on American foreign relations is sorely needed. This need is to no small extent supplied by Dr. Sears' revised and amplified survey of the course which the United States of America has run in world affairs. Strangely enough, the Republic, whose isolationist policy has become almost proverbial, owed its original independence to an alliance with a European power, Royalist France, while Louisiana, the richest empire ever annexed without a blow, was the conquest of a pacifist, Thomas Jefferson. The background for the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine is carefully explained. Great Secretaries of State are contrasted with minor Presidents. Although the events that led up to the War of 1812, the Mexican imbroglio, and the Civil War are related, often in detail, they would benefit by a greater continuity of treatment. The same criticism applies to the recital of the immediate causes of the Spanish-American War, which is represented as more or less inevitable.

The chief defect of the book, however, is the failure to point out how responsible the United States was for the rise and successful continuation of the Carranza-Obregon-Calles régime in Mexico. The story of this group is split up into too many fugitive episodes. Nor is adequate attention bestowed on the Papal efforts for peace during the World War. Most impartial European historians now acknowledge that the peace proposals put forth by Benedict XV in 1917 were equitable to both sides and that both sets of belligerents would have done well to accept the Pope's principles as the basis of negotiation. Nevertheless, Professor Sears upholds Woodrow Wilson in the latter's rejection of the Papal proposals. On the other hand, the author has a very realistic discussion of the reasons that prompted American recognition of the Union of Socialist and Soviet Republics. "Interesting," it is, writes Dr. Sears, that this diplomatic *volte-face* should "come about in obedience to the will of powerful business interests, which saw or thought they saw important markets going to commercial rivals who had been more prompt and generous than ourselves in granting recognition to the sworn enemies of capitalism."

It is an indication of the bankruptcy of modern liberalism to find that the author's only hope for an escape from the morass of extreme nationalism is "a more enlightened type of selfishness." What place is there for international justice and charity in such an analysis?

JOSEPH FRANCIS THORNING.

### A King in Bohemia

*THE EMPEROR CHARLES IV.* By Bede Jarrett, O.P., M.A. Sheed and Ward. \$3.00. Published March 27.

**T**EN years ago Father Gerald G. Walsh published his prize essay on Charles IV. I suspect that it was something more fundamental than the lyrical strain and the literary finish of Father Walsh's book that drew forth the cynical and sophisticated comment of Professor Ephraim Emerton in the *American Historical Review*. A high ideal and a whole philosophy of life attaches to the name of the great Bohemian Emperor. To his Christian concept of man and society, of Church and State, Father Bede Jarrett, along with Father Walsh, will be accused of taking a subjective attitude. The fact is that their mis-called idealizing of the Emperor brings the reader closer to historic reality than does the "critical objectivity" of Professor Emerton.

Charles IV was born in 1316 and died in 1378. He became King of Bohemia in 1347 and Holy Roman Emperor in 1349.

The Black Death marked the beginning of his reign; the first year of Great Western Schism marked its close. Though for most students of the Hundred Years' War and the Babylonian Exile the Bohemia of his day is an unfamiliar scene, both the country and its king merit attention. At once medieval and modern, he was a national king in Bohemia and at the same time the most European of Emperors. Medieval in his ideals, in his faith and piety and devotion to the Church, in his sense of responsibility, in his love of peace and order, and in his universal outlook which embraced Christendom as a unit, Charles was the Father of Bohemia and the founder of German unity. He had a modern sense of the value of money; though unlike the modern he regarded it merely as a means and spent it generously. He laid aside what was outworn in the Middle Ages, while he tried to save what was best in them. His imperial vision reminds one of our modern dream of a World Court and a League of Nations, but vitalized by religion. Distracted Europe has much to learn from him.

Earlier ventures in medieval theory and practice prepared Father Jarrett for the writing of this book, which at his death was left in manuscript form. To back up his authority he has his former Oxford Professor, Ernest Barker, who writes the introduction, as well as an outstanding Catholic scholar, Douglas Woodruff, who contributes an approving foreword. The book is not a great book, but it is stimulating and repays careful reading. Its defects are those of omission rather than of factual error or misinterpretation. Obviously, the author could not crowd into 200 pages the whole story of the Emperor and of the calamitous age in which he presided, theoretically over the destinies of Europe.

R. CORRIGAN.

### The Remaking of China

*THE GREAT WALL CRUMBLES.* By Grover Clark. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

**O**N any phase of the life in or position of China during our more modern times, you can find in this volume a well-rationalized interpretation, be it economic life, foreign attitudes, national politics, Russian influence, Communism in its Eastern Asiatic phases, or missionary endeavor. To say this is to characterize this excellent volume as an interpretation. Facts appear by illusion rather than by statement. The author has a viewpoint and leaves you with a prejudice. You do not absorb information from the book so much as you secure opinions. This is evidenced in the plethora of adjectives. For instance: "The Chinese system has shown a notable durability and a remarkably flexible adaptability to local and changing conditions." Another instance: "The shrewd, powerful, and completely unscrupulous Yuan-Shih-Kai."

To speak thus is not to disagree—for with most of the author's opinion most informed persons will agree—nor is it to condemn. The book has its high values, but these are for persons already somewhat informed upon China. But if you have muddled about amid historical facts in odd treatises here and there, and heard jumbled facts, and perhaps listened to superficial theories, you can get from this book a full and a broad view of China as a whole and what she means to the world today and what the world means to her.

The wall of racial and cultural superiority has crumbled. China's students, politicians, bankers, soldiers, merchants, manufacturers, are remaking China on the Western pattern. Where for decades it was business or conversion with the aid of gun-boats, the race of nations and sects to prey upon the supposedly pagan Chinese, now the foreigners find that the Chinese themselves are transforming China. The chief rival of Japan's cotton trade is not Britain, but China herself. Chinese bankers are taking over much of the Chinese banking business in local and foreign trade. The Chinese who first imitated the Westerners in order to get proper weapons to defend their country, are imitating the West in many

other things, economic, social, political. The "returned student" is making his influence felt. The *compradore* has become a tycoon. The process is not completed. It is imperiled by Japan's need of China and Chinese trade. It is, like most Chinese things, often highly localized. You cannot theorize about it because China is full of inconsistencies. You can only be like the Chinese, be realistic, accept facts and let systematization and consolidations follow after if they will. This is Mr. Clark's attitude toward his problem, excellently presented, clearly based upon detailed knowledge and intimate acquaintance with people and press, literature and life. It deserves approval. Its presentation is a valuable document to any serious student of the Far East.

ELBRIDGE COLBY.

### Six Are Too Many

DANTE VIVO. By Giovanni Papini. Translated from the Italian by Eleanor Hammond Broadus and Anna Benedetti. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50. Published March 5.

BOOKS about Dante (in spite of the 3,753 titles in Evola's *Bibliografia Dantesca* for 1920-30) are as inevitable as love letters and spiritual diaries. That, in fact, is what so many of them are. Even in a ponderously erudite work like Zingarelli's, taking up, in the 1931 edition, all but 1,400 pages, you can read between the lines the surreptitious tokens of affection, the concealed examinations of conscience. With Papini, of course, all is in the open. "Everyone sees you, dear Dante," he begins. And at the end, "I feel compelled to address a prayer to him. I ask him to pardon me if I have been, it may be, over-bold in weighing and measuring his soul; to pardon me above all if I, of so little worth, did not know how to speak worthily of the noble greatness of his genius."

What may be called the "love-letters" parts of Papini are wonderful beyond words:

We wish to cry aloud in amazement or to weep in admiration, to embrace and to kiss him, our Dante, if only he were present here, if he could be brought to life again for at least a moment by our jealous affection.

*Quale allodetta che 'n aere si spazia  
prima cantando, e poi tace contenta,  
dell' ultima dolcezza che la sazia.*

Such is he, the poet so often divine; such are we insignificant men, when in the depths of our hearts we feel his song as it flies on inspired wings, the song that delights and satisfies.

Very well. But it is not all like that. The prayer for pardon at the end may please Dante who (as Papini hopes) is now in Paradise. It will not placate the merely mundane reader. In chapter after chapter Papini is little better than Lytton Strachey at his worst. He plays the part of an impertinent *Advocatus diaboli* with nothing to back him but undocumented doubts.

There were, between named and unnamed, at least a dozen women in his life. And we may permit ourselves to think that there were a few more. However, the three unnamed of the *Vita Nuova* may be identical with three named in the *Rime*. Lisetta is not a woman beloved; the adventure of the Trentino is a legend. Pargoletta is not necessarily a proper name.

The old Voltairean trick. Some mud is bound to stick. You say a dozen, or it may be fifteen. Then you scrape it down to six. For an austere moralist, six are a few too many. It is not a matter of morals; it is a matter of history. Until we get the documents, one more than his wife is one too many, if you mean, as Papini hints, unhallowed love. GERALD G. WALSH.

### Pope Hater

CONDORCET AND THE RISE OF LIBERALISM. By J. Salwyn Schapiro. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.50.

IN the Middle Ages God was the source and center of all reality; man and nature were His creatures. The votaries of the pagan Renaissance, finding God opposed to pagan morals, decided

He must go. Whereupon the spotlight was cunningly shifted from God to man and nature, and the natural experienced an imaginary emancipation from the supernatural. Man took over the universe and everything became lovely here below. Like a huge pipeline full of inebriating elixir, this immoderate exaltation of man and nature flowed down from the pagan Renaissance into the philosophic systems of the last few centuries. They quaffed the exhilarating influence and whittled away more and more the idea of a transcendent God. The French *philosophes*, the Encyclopedists, of the eighteenth century pressed their lips to the stream and reeled wildly about on a man-worship, nature-worship jag. The world headache today is in many ways a "hangover" from that spree.

A distinctly lesser luminary among these *philosophes* was a gentleman named Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet. The book under review is for the most part a sort of glorification of the *philosophes* in general and of Condorcet and his ideas in particular. Nephew of a bishop, educated by the Jesuits, Condorcet fell under the spell of Voltaire, d'Alembert, and others, and imbibed their bitter hatred of religion and especially Catholicism. Gaining fame first as a mathematician, he soon abandoned that field and with the cheers of the *philosophes* ringing in his ears plunged into works on politics, economics, education. He was one of the glorious pioneers in the battle for divorce, birth control, education without God, morality without God; for a world isolated from the rest of the universe. Lacking a gifted style, devoid of wit, his books were devoid of many readers. Robespierre said of him: "He is a great mathematician in the opinion of literary men and a great literary man in the opinion of mathematicians." As in the case with so many apostates, his hatred of Catholicism was fierce and bitter. He was more ferociously anti-religious than even his master, Voltaire, and caused Saint-Beuve to exclaim he was "fanatically irreligious and smitten with a sort of hydrophobia on this subject." Yet, curiously, he had a soft spot in his heart for Mohammedanism.

The *philosophes*, including Condorcet, were really not philosophers at all. They were strong in some things. Thinking was not one of them. Many of them (though not Condorcet) possessed charming style, caustic wit, which like fragrant perfume hid much ill-smelling argumentation. They were popularizers who won a wide vogue for a lot of muddled thinking. The thin veins of truth struggling through their massive errors stemmed from the Scholastics. The fanatical hatred of religion displayed by the *philosophes* was of itself sufficient to vitiate their work. They sought to repair the world machine by removing its Divine Engine. They thought all the centuries up to the Age of Reason (meaning their own reasoning) was a dark void. As Morley said: "They tried to understand society without the aid of history." Another little thing they failed to consider in their grandiose schemes for mankind was man's inherent tendencies to evil. They were doctors ignorant of germs battling diseases caused by germs.

JOHN A. TOOMEY.

### Shorter Reviews

THE PEOPLE'S KING. By John Buchan. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.75. Published May 1.

THE cause of revolutions lies in the corruption and abandonment of the fundamental principles on which a particular form of government is based. This abandonment may be due to circumstances of a very varied nature, in modern times mainly political and economic. That King George V, the people's king, has never abandoned the principles of good monarchy accounts for the survival of that form of government in England while all about him thrones have tumbled, republics have come and gone, and dictators strut the political parquet from the Urals to the Rhine. The theme of this volume is that despite the legacy of a sea of troubles at his accession in 1910, despite the World War and the economic depression, on each occasion when it was his



duty to act for the common good, King George has taken those measures which a good monarch ought to have taken. Thus by increasing respect and affection for himself he has increased respect for the monarchical form of government in England. By contrast the efforts of popular statesmen, who only too frequently have appealed to the basest instincts in men, have brought upon other countries fears and questionings with a condition bordering on anarchy. Colonel Buchan has given us an exceedingly well-written book, a popular review of the first twenty-five years of the reign of a king who "has led his people, for he has evoked what is best in them." It is the book of the Silver Jubilee.

H. H. C.

*RESTLESS DAYS.* By Lilo Linke. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.00. Published April 8.

**I**N a very true sense this is the individual case history of a girl who grew up during the World War, shared in the misery attendant upon the defeat of the German armies in the field, and endured the ordeal by fire provided by monetary inflation. Lacking the sheet anchor of a strong religious Faith, the author turned impulsively to the ranks of the Youth Movement in Germany and soon outshone her comrades in intelligent enthusiasm, gifts of leadership, and powers of organization. It was a natural step to venture into the political arena in support of the principles and candidates of the Social Democratic party. Falling in love with the party secretary, Lilo Linke lived in a world, half dream, half reality. But this attachment, like others in her life, was ephemeral and her romance crumbled to dust with the remnants of the Social Democratic party which could not stem the rising tide of the Third Reich. The sooty pillars of the Social Democracy could only be a temporary resting place for such a restless, idealistic spirit. Nor did Communism of the brand of Karl Liebknecht or Rosa Luxemburg have any deep attraction for her. When it became clear that Hitler and his cohorts were invincible, Lilo fled from Germany to seek refuge in England. Her life faithfully reflects the tragic phases in the existence of many another exile from the Fatherland.

One cannot help feeling that the author, for all her fine visions of a free youth in a free Utopia, sold herself cheaply and never had the opportunity to join battle in a cause that would have done justice to her talents. Like Vincent Sheean, she has vague longings for a humanitarian liberalism, but she is doomed to disappointment in her quest for a Grail that is not Holy.

J. T.

*EVERYMAN HIS OWN HISTORIAN.* By Carl L. Becker. F. S. Crofts and Company. \$2.50.

**E**SSAYS on politics and history ranging all the way from an essay on Kansas to such topics as H. G. Wells and the works of Henry Adams. The political essays are more interesting than the historical, though the writer is primarily an historian.

It is interesting to see how much better some of these topics have been handled by Catholic historians. The essay on Wells and his *Outline* has nothing of the penetration and devastating power that Belloc expends on the same subject nor has it the literary finish. Belloc says of the Wellsian Utopia that it is "the shoddy remnant of the Christian hope." Becker does not see half the absurdities in Wells that the mordant and more accurate Belloc sees. For Becker is of the world of Wells and has the same pictures on the walls of his mind. In connection with an essay on Diderot we come on the phrase "the harsh creed of the Church." What, Professor, harsher than that of the birth controllers or the Puritans or the totalitarian staters?

Not a bad book to set one abreast of historian psychology.

A. B.

*THE GLORY ROAD.* By Arthur Hopkins. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$2.00.

**T**HE well-known theatrical producer, has found a new outlet for his talents. In an allegorical novel that is both convincing and stimulating, he has traced the march of humanity along the

glory road of history. He outlines the story of man from the rise of Christianity to our own day, concentrating on the violent changes in man's attitude towards life, as they are expressed in the revolt against religion, the revolt against monarchic absolutism, the capitalistic system, the World War, the League of Nations, and the present economic crisis. Mr. Hopkins sees man as a being in quest of an ideal; when the ideal has been attained, it is embodied in an institution; the institution is dominated by the powerful and ceases to function in the common interest; then man revolts, sets up for himself a new ideal, and the process repeats itself. There are striking analyses of contemporary affairs which the hide-bound conservative would do well to read and ponder. However, the author's attempt to determine how man's ideals may be attained and retained is quite disappointing. God, he maintains, is ever changing; truth is ever changing; man must mistrust old institutions, and accomplish change, if need be, by revolution. Such a philosophy, if put into action, would lead to results far different from those Mr. Hopkins himself desires.

J. H.

*SON OF HEAVEN.* By Princess Der Ling. D. Appleton-Century Company. \$3.00.

**I**T was the clash of Oriental Victorianism with the twentieth-century fever for progress that resulted in the Boxer Rebellion, the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty after a rule of 267 years, and the end of the empire that traced its origin back 4,000 years into the dim mists of legendary history. The background, the atmosphere, rather than the actual military facts of the conflict, are here presented. It is a sympathetic biography of the ill-fated Kwang Hsu, last Emperor actually to reign in China. He is portrayed as constantly held in check by the conservatism of the age-old court, personified in his aunt, the indomitable old Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi, who for forty-seven years was the actual ruler of China. In her hands Kwang Hsu was a helpless tool. The author is well qualified for her task. Educated in France and the United States, married to an American diplomat, she has the unique advantage of being able to interpret her story according to both Oriental and Occidental viewpoints. She was a personal friend of Kwang Hsu, and believes that if he had been allowed to rule as he wished, "China would have been a model empire today; Pu Yi would not now be the puppet of Japan; and there would be no civil war in the Middle Kingdom."

T. C.

*INTOLERANCE.* By Winfred E. Garrison. Round Table Press. \$2.50.

**C**ONTEMPORARY religious and political events are proof enough that the subject of intolerance is one meriting serious consideration. The present work is not a history of intolerance but an effort to induce people to consider critically their own attitudes; it is an analysis of religious, racial, and political intolerance. The definition of intolerance as "a reprehensible illiberal attitude" is unsatisfactory, for the author declares that perfect tolerance is not a virtue, only stupid intolerance is blameworthy. Yet he gives no principles for determining the intellectual basis on which we are urged to build a wise intolerance, rather all authoritative standards are repudiated. The chief cause of intolerance, we are told, is fear, other causes being our ideas of God and objective truth. It is hard to see why the growth of tolerance in our own day should be a cause of pride if, as the author claims, it is due to indolence, expediency, and religious indifference.

Most of the book is devoted to historical examples of intolerance, which it is claimed, are not intended to pass judgment on the past but merely to furnish clinical material. Here the impression conveyed is sadly at variance with the author's expressed purpose, for they are all illustrations of religious intolerance, mostly Catholic, and many of them can hardly be defended as true history. While instances of Protestant intolerance are cited, it is emphasized that they are "mere episodes in the evolution

of that liberalism implicit in the Protestant Reformation." Finally the various anti-Catholic outbreaks in the United States are represented as economic and social in cause and only incidentally religious.

However in spite of vagueness and unconscious bias, the book can at least claim the merit of calling to our attention a serious problem for which we must find a solution. And surely we would be well on the way to a solution if every reader would strive to follow the concluding advice of the author and "strive to exorcize fear and hatred, cease to judge men by classes, keep self interest in its right place, and respect human rights."

F. J. G.

*BRIGHT MEXICO.* By Larry Barretto. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.00.

THE author describes his book as "merely an account of personal wanderings with a little history thrown in." The personal element is emphasized throughout. The author has possibilities as a reporter. When he writes of what he has actually seen, he occasionally has something of value to offer. He is too trusting a soul, however, in the credence he gives to much of what he passes on at second hand. He lays claim to no particularly deep knowledge of Mexico nor to any special research, and he betrays his innocence as well as his ignorance in some of the yarns that he implicitly accepts. He shows a predisposition to admire and praise everything strange that is highly reminiscent of other abler writers who in recent years have presented their impressions of Mexico to the American public. Once again the "idols-behind-altars" note is sounded in his brief reference to the religion of the Indian masses of Mexico. We hear only faint and distant echoes of the religious conflict and the author shows little grasp upon the present situation in his few and almost incidental comments.

The book contains much that is trivial and in places it evidences hasty, careless writing. To contrast the author's impressions of Cuernavaca with Carleton Beals' recent description of that paradise of the leading figures of Mexico's plunderbund is to get the measure of Mr. Barretto. His book serves no useful purpose, for it is unreliable in its avowed purpose as "an approach to Mexico," and it has nothing at all to offer to those familiar enough with the land and its history to be able to sift the wheat from the chaff. Somehow it gives the impression of being that special variety of pot boiler in which a facile writer has been known to publish his travel impressions to help defray the expenses of a journey. The book adds nothing at all to knowledge of Mexico. W. A. C.

*CATHOLICS IN COLONIAL DAYS.* By the Rev. Thomas P. Phelan. P. J. Kenedy and Sons. \$2.50.

DURING two decades as a teacher, writer, and lecturer on historical subjects, Dr. Phelan had been confronted with the scant treatment Catholic achievement had received at the hands of the average historian, and a corresponding lack of information and general interest in this phase of our national progress. To correct this, it has seemed to him that a popular treatise, written in simple style, not a definitive history, but the true story stripped of all fiction and exaggeration would be of special service to students and to those delvers into the records of the past who have neither leisure nor aptitude for extensive research or study. With this purpose he has compiled a useful book "culling from the pages of learning American authors . . . who have labored so faithfully to preserve the traditions of the colonial past." The whole is presented in such an attractive form that it well merits an immediate and practical popular approval of his most laudable ambition.

T. F. M.

*LIFE OF ST. DOMINIC.* By Bede Jarrett, O.P. Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 3/6.

THE Saviour sent back to St. John the Baptist two unmistakable proofs of His Divine mission: miracles and the Gospel. In the functioning of His Church He intended that preaching

should continue vigorously to the end of time. Neglect of this commission would result in great loss to souls. Church history reveals sad periods of such neglect; one, most deplorable because so widespread, marked the beginning of the thirteenth century. Then God raised Dominic of Guzman to be His athlete and apostle. It took an athlete to beat off the physical force of opposing elements as overwhelming at times as St. Paul's, and it took an apostle to fire with the love of Christ a world steeped in heresy and vice.

St. Dominic has more than a biographer in the late Father Bede Jarrett. A son who has so fully lived the ideals of his Order can well write of them. It would be impossible to treat the Dominican epic adequately in a short work of 179 pages. Father Jarrett, of course, does not attempt this. However, he does show how St. Dominic's beating down of the Albigensian heresy, his founding of the nuns, his gathering together of the choicest spirits of the university centers into a new Order of preaching friars was but the beginning of a mighty tradition of sanctity and scholarship. He was the "leader whose foresight made possible the philosophic generalship of Aquinas, the missionary zeal of Hyacinth Odrowantz, the eloquence of Vincent Ferrer, of Savonarola, of Las Casas, of Lacordaire." The volume, republished after ten years, fittingly marks the seventh centenary of the Saint's canonization and makes a suitable memorial to the author. E. P. M.

*NEW GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE.* Edited by Raymond L. Buell. Thomas Nelson and Sons. \$2.50.

IN this volume the trend to dictatorship is discussed from a research angle by Vera Micheles Dean and other specialists of the Foreign Policy Association. Russia, Italy, and Germany are treated along lines somewhat parallel to those followed by Dr. Colton in his *Four Types*, but with much more documentation and analysis, as is seen particularly in the treatment of the Soviet State, which refers at every step to official State documents. The regimes of the Baltic States and Spain are also discussed. On general topics, Socialist authors are rather generously referred to. There are a couple of occasional remarks on Spain which do not stand up under examination. Page 403: "For the first time (in 1933) in the history of Spain thousands of poor children were placed in the classroom." Page 415: "The Church had incurred the enmity . . . of the laboring classes"—a sweeping assertion, which is coupled with an entire omission of any reference to the immense social adult-educational work among laborers and agriculturists which Catholic institutions have been promoting in Spain during the years immediately preceding the Revolution. J. F.

*ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. VOL. XIV.* The Macmillan Company. \$7.50.

THIS might be termed the "home volume" of the set, since it contains an array of articles under the headings of "State" and "Social," from Social Case Work, Social Christian Movements, to Socialism and Society. The last mentioned, by Prof. Talcott Parsons, of Harvard University, is inspired by the traditional Protestant interpretation of the relation of medieval society to the Church, and holds that the concept of authority in the Church was first "built up by the canon lawyers." In view of the ample space devoted to Slavery, ancient and modern, it is difficult to understand how the whole question of the gradual destruction of slavery by Christianity, one of the most significant of all social phenomena of all times, could be summed up in a couple of brief sentences (p. 77), and those entirely misleading, of which the first reads: "Neither stoicism nor Christianity was a primary or direct agency in the application of the new spirit to slavery, since both fully accept it as a working economic and social institution." Even in these lines the writer contradicts his own assertion that the new public attitude "was part of a general spiritual change, the sources of which are difficult to trace." The great store of valuable information, historical, scientific, and biographical, which



the *Encyclopedia* contains is weakened by its reluctance to confide major topics to writers who can properly evaluate the social influence of Christianity. The article on Sex Education, by M. A. Bigelow, frankly ignores the moral aspects of the case and announces "the generally accepted proposition is that the best foundation for sex education in the schools is on a biological line." The frank sex teaching of Soviet Russia is selected for special praise. Significantly, Sex Ethics is combined into one with the aforesaid article.

J. L. F.

**BUILDING PERSONALITY.** By A. Gordon Melvin. The John Day Company. \$3.00.

THE author approaches the intricate question of personality from a practical psychological angle, and his practical hints for the exploration, observation, and direction of personality are very worthwhile efforts. His opening chapters on the confusion and conflicts in current psychology are scholarly and clear, but his positive outline for the study and development of personality suffers from four crippling defects. He discards logic with the sweeping absurdity that "as a method of thinking, it is deadening." He is quite unaware of the Scholastic contribution to the study of personality, and fails to evaluate properly the precise notions of intellect, will, motive, and independence which Scholastic clearness has formulated. He continually ignores the distinction between person and personality, using the terms with almost haphazard casualness. Finally, he fails throughout the formidable 300 pages to define personality except in descriptions which mentally bog the reader.

In the presence of such deficiency, one might be tempted to class this psychological study as worthless. It is not. Mr. Melvin's arraignment of scientific absolutism in this field is ably assembled. His digests of contemporary systems are masterly. His bibliography, maps, and indices prove him a methodic and skilful worker, but the subject matter of this volume proved too elusive for him. Putting old wine in new bottles, he creates a working terminology, scouts the value of analysis and precision, demands an integrated psychology in which he confuses the functions of intellect and will, sheers away from the "mystery" of man's spiritual nature, and offers us a soul theory without a soul. He does not prove his thesis.

R. J. M.

### Recent Non-Fiction

**FOUR PATTERNS OF REVOLUTION.** By Ethan Colton. The discussions of types of Fascism and various new deals have aroused the need of the study of conflicting systems. When Americans get to know more about these conflicting systems, they will be more satisfied with their own and more anxious to preserve democracy. The author is a vigorous believer in religious liberty and contrasts favorably the United States with other countries in that respect. While not sympathetic with Communism and doubtful of the value of United States' recognition of Russia, he reproduces a good many Russian publicity clichés at their face value. (Association Press. \$2.50)

**THE SORROWS AND GLORIES OF IRELAND.** By A. M. Skelly. Every page reflects the author's passionate devotion to the land of his birth and love. Father Skelly says nothing that had not been said before, but he says it again, and says it well. His book deals with the origins of the Celtic race, its characteristics, migrations, conquests, language, literature, legends, heroes, monasteries, persecutions, martyrs, and emancipation. (Wagner)

**FROM GREEN HILLS OF GALILEE.** By Cathal O'Byrne. Seven beautiful stories, imaginative elaborations of events and characters of the New Testament. Our Lady meets the mother of Dismas. We get a closer view of the wedding at Cana. The woman at the well, Mary of Magdala, Pilate's wife, Simon of Cyrene, and the wood of the Cross are all built into charming tales. The last two stories are well done. (Kenedy. \$1.50)

## Communications

Letters to ensure publication should not, as a rule, exceed 500 words. The editors are not responsible for opinions expressed in this department. No attention will be paid to anonymous communications.

### Pilgrims

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Of significance not only to Ursuline alumnae and students, but to a wider circle of prospective visitors to Europe is this summer's pilgrimage commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Ursuline Order. Sailing from New York on July 9, the pilgrims will spend two days in Naples, going thence to Rome, where they will be received at the Ursuline Generalate and on another day by His Holiness in special audience. After seeing the beauties of Florence and Venice, the party will cross the plains of Lombardy to Desenzano, the birthplace of St. Angela, and to Brescia where the Ursuline Order was founded and where the body of the Saint rests in the Church of St. Afra. Time will be allowed for a visit to Milan and Paris before sailing on August 7 on the return voyage to New York. In the extension tour, which lasts fifty-four days, there will be time to see something of Switzerland and Germany and to visit the places in Lisieux that St. Therese loved.

Through the courtesy of AMERICA the Ursulines extend to their friends and to students past and present a cordial invitation to join in this anniversary pilgrimage.

Kirkwood, Mo.

MOTHER MARY BARBARA, Provincial.

### Little Cosmoses

To the Editor of AMERICA:

"The Fallacy of 'Self-Expression,'" by Father Lonergan in the March 16 issue of AMERICA, is a sober and sound arraignment of that insidious educational (I do violence to the term) doctrine, which has long fascinated the less responsible schoolmen. School officials who inaugurate and maintain a "do-as-you-please" system in the fond belief that habits of sloth, indifference, and slovenliness, nurtured by such a system, will, by the magic formula on a diploma, become habits of accuracy, zeal, and perseverance, do immeasurable harm to young minds by giving them a most unstable and untrustworthy norm of life, viz., their own prejudices.

The student, whose every sophomoric whim is his educational law, inevitably develops the idea that he is a little cosmos, around which all else revolves. What pleases his three-cent, undisciplined intellect or uncultured tastes is good, true, beautiful; what irks him is worthy of vituperative anathema. He has a violent prejudice against Greek; that "antique gibberish" chafes his self-complacency, for its only key is hard work; and this particular sanctity his pedagogical advisors will circumvent for his present joy but ultimate disillusionment and disgust, by allowing him an equivalent number of "credits" for Economics I or Homemaking VI. Of course, he is pained afterwards when his employer is unsympathetic toward his dislike for punctuality or for accuracy in details. For some time he simply can't understand it, but after several unfortunate encounters with the exacting world in which he is thrown he at length comes to the sad realization that the "snap" courses in which he majored and minored are of small comfort and no aid to him now.

When the schools return to a prescribed system of studies chosen not for their simplicity or for their real or imaginary immediate "practicality," but for their intrinsic worth, cultural value, and ultimate utility, they will demonstrate their title to the fabulous sum lavished upon them annually. Does this mean the Greek calends?

Salem, Mass.

CARL THAYER.

## Chronicle

**Home News.**—On May 6 the Supreme Court, by a vote of five to four, declared the Railroad Retirement Act to be unconstitutional. The majority opinion held that, even if the separate provisions of the Act might withstand the strain of constitutional limitations when separately considered, although serious objections were raised on this point, their aggregate effect was to violate directly the due-process clause by taking property from one group and giving to another without just compensation. Administration leaders in Congress immediately began a thorough examination of pending social-security legislation in view of the decision. On May 7 the Patman bonus bill was passed by the Senate on a vote of 55 to 33. It provides for immediate cash payment of the face value of adjusted service certificates in their full 1945 value, payment to be made with \$2,201,000,000 of "printing-press" currency. On May 8 the President indicated that he would veto the bill. Supporters of the bonus bill prepared to put pressure on the White House and Congress to avoid defeat of the bill. It was believed that a veto would be sustained in the Senate. On May 2 the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in nine out of sixteen resolutions, censured the Administration for its proposals. It opposed, among other legislation, the social-security measure, extension of NIRA, the holding-company bill, the banking bill, and AAA amendments. On the same day, members of the Business Advisory and Planning Council personally reassured the President of their support. On May 3 the President stated that he believed the Chamber did not really represent the opinion of the majority of those for whom it spoke. The House of Representatives requested a transcript of the President's remarks on this subject, but he declined, since he felt compliance would put an end to the informal method of press conference which he has favored. On May 8, employees of the Toledo Chevrolet plant rejected a wage-increase offer, voting 1,251 to 605, and decided to remain on strike for union recognition, a written agreement, and more favorable terms. In a report to the President on May 5, George N. Peek stated that the United States is a creditor nation only on the doubtful basis of the defaulted War debts and obsolete investment estimates. He felt we should negotiate tariff treaties on a conditional basis, country by country. On May 8, speaking in Cleveland, Father Coughlin proclaimed the National Union for Social Justice as a great lobby of the middle class in Washington. Senator Bronson Cutting of New Mexico was killed on May 6, when a TWA air liner crashed near Atlanta, Mo.

**Protest on Mexico.**—On May 3 Martin H. Carmody, Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus in the United States, addressed a letter to President Roosevelt on Mexican conditions. He outlined the persecution in Mexico and the inactivity of our State Department in

the face of mounting protests. He asked why our Government had not exercised "its good offices in behalf of the persecuted Catholics of Mexico," as it has interposed in the past in behalf "of other religionists under similar conditions in other countries"; and why it is not "constrained to protest against the treatment to which the Catholics of Mexico are subjected, not only because it has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity." His letter was submitted "as the conviction of more than 400,000 Knights of Columbus of the United States, and expressing the sentiments of millions of other Catholic citizens." On May 2, Congressman Celler of New York asked an investigation into anti-Catholic propaganda sent through the United States mails by the Mexican Government postage free under diplomatic frank.

**Bahia Floods.**—Floods, landslides and torrential rains lashed the city of Bahia, Brazil, for six consecutive days, bringing death to more than 400 persons and injuring several thousands. Hundreds of homes and business buildings, their foundations undermined by the rain, collapsed. Lack of illumination hampered troops, police and firemen in their rescue work. Temporary shelters were converted into hospitals, military barracks and places for the homeless. A stoppage of railroad communication threatened a serious food shortage, sending prices skyrocketing. The Brazilian Government organized a commission to clothe, shelter and feed the 2,000 homeless men, women and children. A sixty-inch rain was reported to have fallen in this area.

**French Municipal Elections.**—France went to the polls on May 5 to elect 450,000 municipal councilors. Great interest accompanied the election, and since it took place in more than 38,000 communes and was participated in by more than 11,000,000 voters, it was regarded as a clear index to the political tendencies of the nation. Moreover, the fortunes of many of the members of Parliament depended upon their success in capturing the post of Mayor or Councilor in their own districts. Eight Ministers, 173 Senators, and more than 300 Deputies had conducted local campaigns. The elections were held without notable excitement or disorders, and, as usual, the results were inconclusive due to the fact that more than half the municipalities voted no clear majority and would have to complete the elections by a second ballot. In the 406 communities where clear majorities were indicated, the Communists gained a few seats at the expense of the Socialists. The Radical Socialists stood about even with both a loss and gain of ten posts. In the 446 districts requiring a second vote it was expected that the Communists would make a small gain. Premier Flandin, while hurrying from Paris to his own district, where he was candidate for Mayor of Domery-sur-Cure, was in an automobile collision and suffered a broken arm, scalp wounds, and severe bruises. He was taken to Auxerre and ordered to rest. Latest reports indicated that he was recovering rapidly.



**Jubilee of King George.**—On May 6, was celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the accession to the throne of George V. It was the first silver-jubilee celebration in the history of Great Britain, though there have been golden jubilees. On no occasion whatsoever, was any event in the history of the Empire surrounded with such display and magnificence. The streets of London were universally decked with flags and bunting, and the flood-light illumination of the palaces and public buildings, costing upwards of £250,000, created a scene of splendor. More than a million visitors from Great Britain, the Dominions and the Continent, overwhelmed the city. The official celebration took the form of a thanksgiving service in St. Paul's Cathedral. The royal procession from Buckingham Palace to the Cathedral passed through streets jammed with sightseers, many of whom had waited in their vantage spots through the preceding night. King George and Queen Mary arrived at the Cathedral about noon. The Princes of the Blood, their families, the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, the Dominion Premiers, the Peers, the Indian Princes and the foreign diplomatic corps, the Lord Mayor of London and other officials filled the sanctuary. To indicate that the ceremony transcended Protestant denominational lines, the Moderator of the Evangelical Free Churches read the lessons. The Archbishop of Canterbury delivered an address, and the Bishop of London offered a prayer of thanksgiving. In the evening, King George broadcast a short address to his subjects. The carnival spirit reigned in London and throughout all England, and the festivities exceeded even those which greeted Armistice Day. The event was significant in that it publicly attested the respect and affection in which King George is held, and the loyalty and allegiance to the crown.

**British Air Declaration.**—In a declaration of Cabinet policy before the House of Commons on May 2, Prime Minister MacDonald devoted most of his address to the topic of Germany's disturbance of the peace in Europe. He retold the British efforts to promote a peace-system, and stated that Hitler's unilateral action had nearly destroyed international confidence. His anxiety, he stated, was for proper defense of Great Britain and his policies were not directed toward aggression. In regard to the German naval program, he declared that "the German decision to build submarines is ominous." His greater concern, however, was with the German rearmament in the air. He referred to Stanley Baldwin's statement of the British position in November last, namely, that "in no circumstance will we accept any position of inferiority with regard to whatever air force may be raised by Germany in the future." He went on to say that "the Air Ministry and the Government are already taking steps for further and accelerated expansion of the British air force." His words, as interpreted, meant that Great Britain did not feel secure with the 880 home-defense planes contracted for, but planned an increase to 1,000 which would bring about parity with the German expansion.

**German Air Fleet.**—It was asserted that Germany's air fleet had already achieved parity with that of Great Britain. General Goering explained his declaration that "the German air force will always be as strong as any combination," by saying that Germany sought air parity with France as the strongest military power in Europe. He characterized the reports that the Reich had 10,000 planes and was adding several hundred more every week as preposterous, and declared his Government was assembling and adding to its air force one fully equipped military plane every three days. The Polish spy, Baron Sosnowski, whose activities caused the beheading of two German women, was traded to Poland in exchange for three Reich spies. To overcome a shortage of farmers' wives, a back-to-the-farm movement for city girls was inaugurated by Nazi officials. The German press paid unanimous tribute to King George on the occasion of his jubilee. Chancellor Hitler forwarded a message of congratulations, coupling with it the assurance that the Reich watched with sympathy England's effort for peace.

**Catholic Papers Confiscated.**—A number of German Catholic newspapers, including the official organ of the Berlin diocese, were confiscated. They were charged with publishing a pastoral letter from the German Bishops which criticized the Government. The letter was issued in connection with Catholic Education Week, running from April 28 to May 5. In it the Bishops merely reiterated their demand for Catholic schools as guaranteed in the Concordat. The Nazi Minister of the Interior in Baden confiscated the possessions of the Peace League of German Catholics, on the ground that the organization was hostile to the State. Under reported pressure from the Foreign Office, which is engaged in an effort to build up a British public opinion favorable to Germany, Chancellor Hitler permitted Minister of the Interior Frick to halt the wholesale arrests of Protestant pastors.

**Jugoslav Government Victory.**—An overwhelming victory for the present regime was claimed by the Jugoslav Government as a result of the elections that took place on May 5. Some sixty per cent of the total vote was credited to the Government. On the other hand, unparalleled use of terror was alleged by the Opposition groups. In Zagreb, the Croatian capital, Dr. Matchek, Croatian candidate, triumphed. On May 9 Dr. Matchek's Opposition party was said to be gathering evidence showing that terrorization was worse than reported previously. Peasants, meeting to demand explanations of why they had been prevented from voting, were fired on by gendarmes, and many were killed or wounded. The Government on May 9 declared circulation of "untrue reports" about the elections would be punished by imprisonment.

**Filipino Radicals in Revolt.**—What was described as a serious uprising but not such as to cause apprehension occurred in five Philippine Provinces on May 3. The radicals, known as Sakdalistas, planned surprise attacks,

for the purpose of capturing the provincial towns and, if successful, of marching on Manila. Their ultimate purpose, apparently, was that of embarrassing the Government and showing opposition to Senor Quezon and his party. About sixty were killed, a hundred and more wounded, and 500 of the leaders and radical organizers were imprisoned.

**New Polish Constitution.**—Premier Slawek submitted the new electoral law. The Parliament will consist of two chambers, the Sejm and the Senate. The Sejm will have 200 Deputies instead of 444. Conservative and radical blocs criticized the new electoral arrangements.

**Spain's New Cabinet.**—Sr. Lerroux's new Cabinet, the fourth he has headed since the fall of the monarchy, was announced on May 6. In his effort to reconstruct the Right-Center coalition, the veteran Premier was forced to grant five portfolios to the Popular Actionists. There were only four posts given to the Radical party, including Sr. Lerroux himself. The new Government was noteworthy in that it included José Gil Robles, youthful leader of the Popular Actionists, as Minister of War. With a voting majority in the Cortes thus guaranteed by the new Government, it was thought that the business of revising the Constitution would be pressed and even finished before the end of the year. Among the primary steps to be taken, observers thought, was the complete revamping of the articles relative to the Church and the Religious Orders. When measures consonant with the drastic demands of the Right had been passed, the Cortes, it was said, would vote its own dissolution and a general election.

**Why Soviet Sacrifices.**—A new explanation of why the people in Russia were called upon to submit to such terrific hardships and restrictions in building up their industrial economy was given on May 6 by Joseph Stalin, Soviet dictator, speaking in Moscow. Not to produce articles of general consumption, said M. Stalin, but in order to build up the army against the "fury of our enemies" was the reason for the "rough treatment." Men, also, not machines, should be Russia's chief reliance.

**International Rumors.**—The week brought a crop of rumors. Premier Mussolini of Italy, it was said, would soon meet Chancellor Schuschnigg of Austria at a conference in Florence. Italy and Ethiopia would appoint commissioners to discuss their differences. J. B. M. Hertzog, Premier of South Africa, was said to be advocating in London the turning over of the Republic of Liberia to Germany as a mandate, in compensation for her lost colonies. Germany was reported as saying that the good relations established between Poland and Germany did more for peace than those between France and the Soviet regime.

**Franco-Russian Treaty Signed.**—At Paris, on May 2, Pierre Laval, French Foreign Minister, and Vladimir Potemkin, Soviet Ambassador, signed a treaty of mutual

assistance. The text was communicated to the "interested Powers." They agreed to consult if threatened by aggression (under Article X of the League Covenant), to aid each other if the Council's decision should not be unanimous and aggression had occurred (Article XV), and the economic and financial sanctions of Article XVI would be applied. The treaty, however, was limited to the event of actual violation of the territory of one or the other party, so that it does not apply, for instance, in case the demilitarized Rhine zone is invaded by Germany, nor in case Germany should operate through the Baltic States. The provisions of the Franco-Soviet treaty of non-aggression of November 29, 1932, remain intact. Through its subordination to the Locarno treaty, which obliges Great Britain and Italy to defend Germany if attacked by France, it remains dependent in considerable measure on the action of Great Britain.

**Hungary Confers.**—Talks at Venice among the representatives of Italy, Austria, and Hungary concerning Hungary's participation in the Rome conferences on Central Europe next month resulted in a fair amount of agreement, but subject still to discussion by the members of the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania). Austria and Hungary would not insist upon discussing rearmament, revision, or Hapsburg restoration. Italy would try to get a settlement of the Yugoslav-Hungary dispute concerning the assassination of King Alexander and the rearmament question. A non-interference formula would likewise be sought.

**Pope Protests to Germany.**—On May 6, the Holy Father addressed a group of 130 German pilgrims and made a very strong public protest against the German Government's bad treatment of the 2,000 young Germans who had come to Rome on Easter Day. According to the reports, the Easter pilgrims upon their return home had been deprived of mementos of their visit, treated as political suspects, and held for a time in a concentration camp. The Pope's words were not an official protest, but they were immediately published throughout Germany. The Nazi leaders, said the Pope, "hope to de-Christianize Germany and wish to conduct the country back to barbaric paganism. Nothing is left undone to disturb Christian and Catholic life."

The article by the Editor on Father Coughlin in this week's issue will be followed by another next week on his principal economic proposal, monetary reform. The article will be called "Father Coughlin and the Banks." The series will close the week after with one on his general ideas on money.

The recent denunciation by the Pope of mistreatment of German boy pilgrims will make very timely Edith Fernbach's article, "Catholic Life in Nazi Germany." It is the writing of an eyewitness.

"True Cinderellas," by Lillian Brand, will be case studies from a Good Shepherd convent.